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ABSTRACT

Designed so that it can be adapted to a wide range of student abilities and institutional settings, this learning module on the human dimensions of global change seeks to: actively engage students in problem solving, challenge them to think critically, invite them to participate in the process of scientific inquiry, and involve them in cooperative learning. The module includes more student activities and suggested readings than most instructors will have time to cover in their courses. Instructors will need to select those readings and activities best suited to the local teaching conditions. At the heart of the module are two basic geographic themes: scale and human relations with other people and their environments. In the module, students examine the concept of community, beginning with the one in which they live. The module helps them to look at the democratic values that are the ideal foundation of community in U.S. society. It explores linkages between the local community and communities at larger scales. In the module, students: investigate how these linkages affect their daily lives; assess the concept of "global citizenship"; encounter the forces that shape the world; and finally, explore the world as an interdependent partnership where all partners are vulnerable to environmental degradation and the deterioration of social conditions. For the instructor, the module begins with a brief summary of general module objectives; skills emphasized; student activities included (reading critically, writing essays, interpreting documents and maps, making sense of statistical information, confronting values, and weighing costs and benefits); material requirements; concepts focused on; and time requirements and difficulty level. Appendices include a 60 item annotated bibliography and reprints of three related articles, each of which has its own references. (BT)

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ED 438 201

HANDS-ON!

Think Locally, Act Globally! Linking Local and Global Communities Through Democracy and Environment

SO 031 085

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An Active Learning Module on the Human Dimensions of Global Change

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HANDS-ON!

DEVELOPING ACTIVE
LEARNING MODULES ON THE
HUMAN DIMENSIONS OF GLOBAL CHANGE

Think Locally, Act Globally!

Linking Local and Global Communities Through Democracy and Environment

Module developed for the AAG/CCG2 Project
"Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change"

by

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Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change
"Think Locally, Act Globally: Linking Local and Global Communities Through Democracy and Environment"

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All materials included in this module may be copied and distributed to students currently enrolled in any course in which this module is being used.

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Editor's Note

A major goal of this project "Developing Active Learning Modules on the Human Dimensions of Global Change," is to disseminate instructional materials that actively engage students in problem solving, challenge them to think critically, invite students to participate in the process of scientific inquiry, and involve them in cooperative learning. The materials are appropriate for use in any introductory and intermediate undergraduate course that focuses on human-environment relationships.

We have designed this module so that instructors can adapt it to a wide range of student abilities and institutional settings. Because the module includes more student activities and more suggested readings than most instructors will have time to cover in their courses, instructors will need to select those readings and activities best suited to the local teaching conditions.

Many people in addition to the principle author have contributed to the development of this module. In addition to the project staff at Clark University, the participants in the 1995 summer workshop helped to make these materials accessible to students and faculty in a variety of settings. Their important contributions are recognized on the title page. This module is the result of a truly collaborative process, one that we hope will enable the widespread use of these materials in diverse undergraduate classrooms. We have already incorporated the feedback we have received from the instructors and students who have used this module, and we intend to continue revising and updating the materials.

I invite you to become part of this collaborative venture by sending your comments, reactions, and suggested revisions to us at Clark. To communicate with other instructors using hands-on modules, we invite you to join the Hands-on listserve we have established. We look forward to hearing from you and hope that you will enjoy using this module.

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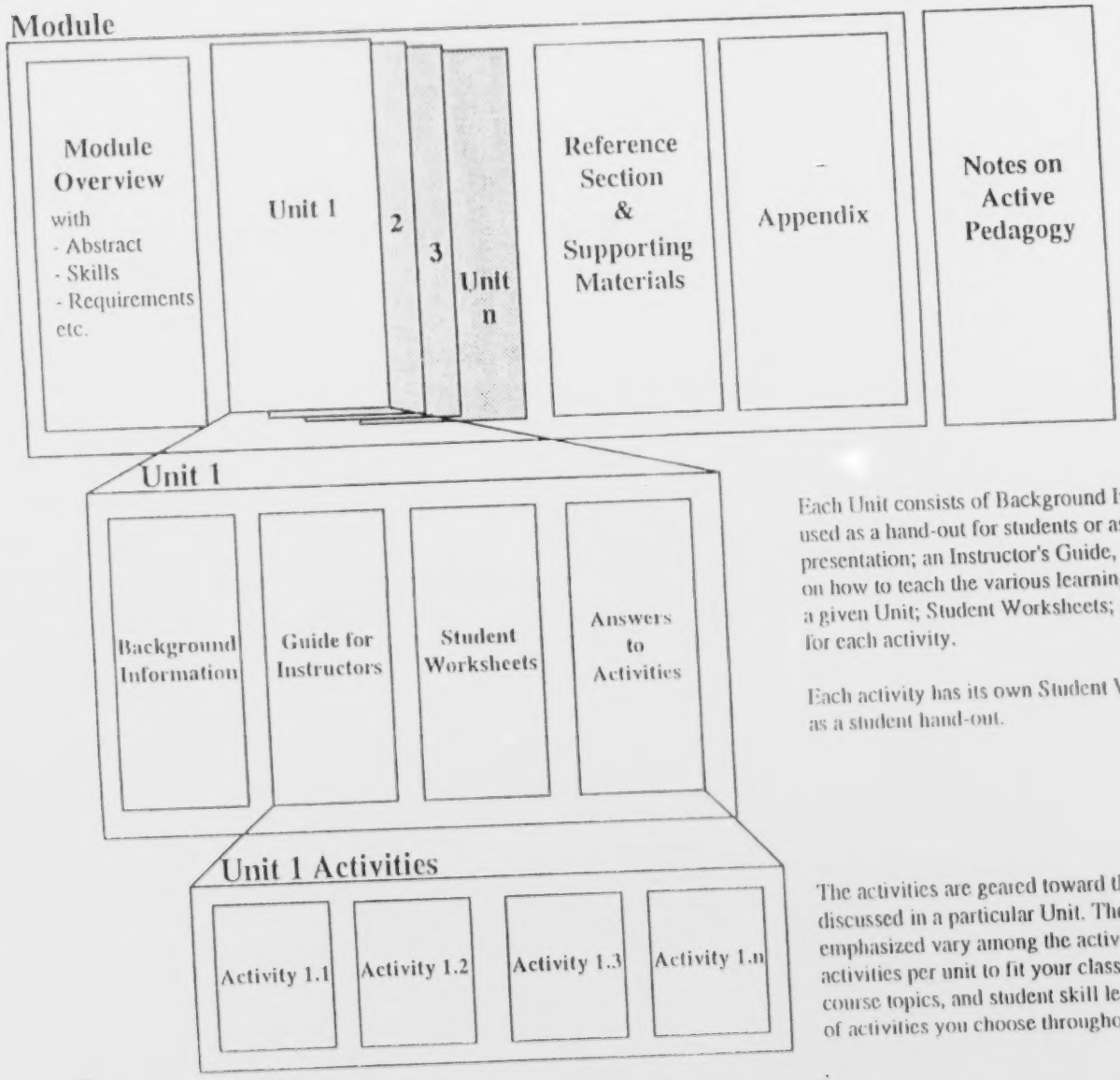
Guide to this Module

This guide is meant to help you navigate this module.



The module is divided into Units, i.e., sections that are thematically coherent and that could, if necessary, stand alone. In addition, the module contains a Reference Section, Supporting Materials and an Appendix. The Supporting Materials can be used to facilitate the teaching of this module or simply to augment it with interesting ideas and information. Additional sections with further information may or may not be present, e.g., a list of acronyms, or a glossary. A separate section on Active Pedagogy comes with every module purchase.

Each Unit consists of Background Information that can be used as a hand-out for students or as the basis for an in-class presentation; an Instructor's Guide, consisting of suggestions on how to teach the various learning activities associated with a given Unit; Student Worksheets; and the Answers expected for each activity.

Each activity has its own Student Worksheet that can be used as a student hand-out.

The activities are geared toward the theme(s) and concepts discussed in a particular Unit. The particular skills and themes emphasized vary among the activities. Choose one or more activities per unit to fit your class size, time, resources, overall course topics, and student skill levels. Be sure to vary the types of activities you choose throughout the module.

Summary: Think Locally, Act Globally! Linking Local and Global Communities Through Democracy and Environment

Abstract

At the heart of this module are two basic geographic themes: *scale* and *human relations with other people and their environments*. Students examine the concept of *community*, beginning with the one in which they live. They critically look at the democratic values that are the ideal foundation of community in American society. The module explores linkages between the local community and communities at larger scales. Students investigate how these linkages affect their daily lives; they assess the concept of *global citizenship*, encounter the forces that shape our world, and, finally, explore the world as an interdependent partnership where all partners are vulnerable to environmental degradation and the deterioration of social conditions.

General Module Objectives

After completing this module, students should have

✔ formed an understanding of the concept of *community*
✔ looked critically at the *ideal* of democracy and *realized* democracy in their communities and the U.S.
✔ become aware of their belonging to local and global communities
✔ learned about the many linkages among different geographic scales
✔ considered the consequences of these linkages for the environment and their own daily lives

Skills

✔ Critical reading of scientific articles, advertisements, news and other reports
✔ Writing response papers, newspaper articles, TV scripts, and a deliberative essay
✔ Careful interpretation of documents, maps, reports, and statistical information;
✔ Team work, group and panel discussions
✔ Role identification and play
✔ Analysis of statistical and other data

Activities

The types of activities suggested here include

✔ role playing
✔ panel discussions
✔ semi-formal interviewing
✔ writing various kinds of papers (essays, TV scripts, newspaper articles, op-eds, reports, etc.)
✔ team work in small groups
✔ mental mapping
✔ working with census data
✔ producing histograms, graphs, and pie charts
✔ analyzing news, statistics, and advertisements
✔ designing a brochure, posters, and an exhibit

Material Requirements

✔ Student Worksheets (provided)
✔ any product with labeling of content
✔ voting tables and other newspaper clippings
✔ used fashion magazines
✔ paper and colored pencils
✔ readings (some provided)

Human Dimensions of Global Change Concepts

✔ decision making in democratic societies

- ✔ equity and equality
- ✔ The Green Revolution
- ✔ technological change
- ✔ economic globalization

Geography Concepts

- ✔ scale
- ✔ human-environment relations
- ✔ local to global communities
- ✔ global citizenship

Time Requirements

6-8 class periods; allow additional time for assignments outside of class.

Difficulty

Depending on the number of assignments, the module can be challenging for first and second year undergraduates. One exercise requires simple mathematics. Other activities are easily adapted to different skill levels.

Module Overview

This module focuses on two geographic themes: (1) scale and (2) relations of humans to each other and to their environments. The module introduces students to the communities and segments of communities that constitute our world, and to the linkages that exist among communities at different levels. The linkages are through governance, economy, environment, technology, and culture. A central question is how communities respond to global change.

Each unit focuses on a particular scale. The first considers the concept of community and encourages students' critical understanding of the local community in which they live. In addition, it asks students to assess their basic assumptions about U.S.-style democracy.

The second unit moves to the national scale and analyzes the global linkages between the United States and other communities in the world. As the focal point moves from the local to the nation and the world, students begin to see how they are personally connected to entities larger than their immediate social environments. They understand how the "choices" made in one country often have both positive and negative effects on other international communities and the global environment. Students are thus introduced to a new type of citizenship: global citizenship. Readings on the global economy and free trade demonstrate how national borders are crumbling and in some respects how the concept of the nation state may soon become archaic.

The third unit treats the supranational scale. It confronts students with a variety of "voices" struggling to be heard in the world: those embracing the global economy and an international culture, those adapting to them in varying ways, and those rejecting both because they see their resources being exploited by multinational corporations whom they consider the new colonizers of the world. If there is truly a global citizenry, shouldn't all resources, human and natural, be protected under a universal democracy? Or should U.S. citizens participate in the global community merely to the extent that something benefits their own self-interest? Activities in this unit focus on understanding how a variety of globally active organizations affect our daily lives.

The final unit examines the world as an independent partnership in which all partners depend on a healthy global ecological and social environment. At the end of this module, students should be able to address such issues as: How does a democracy deal with global change? How do people cause the world to change? What are the driving forces behind this change? What kind of a future will such changes produce? What are some of the alternative visions?

The module's activities include reading critically, writing essays, interpreting documents and maps, making sense of statistical information, confronting values, and weighing costs and benefits.

A Note About This Module

This module differs from other modules in this series in that it contains less material in the Background Information and more activities. In place of extensive Background Information, each unit asks students to read several key readings selected by the author. These readings are summarized within the text of each unit and are referred to in many of the activities.

The AAG has attempted to obtain reasonable permission to reprint as many of the original articles as possible in Appendix B of this module. Because several of the articles could not be reprinted, the instructor should place them on reserve for students in order to use this module most effectively.

Appendix A contains an annotated bibliography of additional readings that might be useful for the instructor and students. Both the module and the annotated bibliography were adapted from a semester-long, interdisciplinary course taught at Syracuse University.

1 Citizenship and the American Democracy

Background Information

What exactly do the concepts of democracy and citizenship mean? What does it mean to be a local citizen or a global citizen? In this unit, you will begin to conceive of the U.S. as a community in which collective values and social institutions shape the ways in which individuals think and act toward each other and toward nature. It is this community that defines what it means to be a citizen and the rights and obligations that citizenship entails. While one can see the U S as a community -- with a common government, culture, and institutions -- looking beyond the scale of the nation-state, the U.S. is actually a community made up of many smaller communities. Each of these smaller communities has its own characteristics, traditions, history, attitudes, local concerns, and sometimes language. Communities change and grow over time and each has a particular history created from the layers of people and events that have lived in that particular place over time. Many, but not all, of these communities are place-based, meaning that location plays an important role in defining them and in determining some of the issues they face. Global environmental change may present the local and the global communities with unprecedented challenges, like those that would accompany rising sea levels. A key question emerges: "How will communities respond to global environmental change?"

Not all people or groups of people within a community have equal power or equal voice, nor are opportunities equally distributed among the various segments of a community. These disparities often create fragmentation that can threaten the unity of a community. These basic tensions have repeatedly arisen in the framing of U.S. political issues and are likely to continue to do so. Inequalities and fragmentations within communities prompt the question, "In a democracy, how do communities make decisions that affect all members, such as how to respond to environmental threats?"

In this Unit, you will focus on three readings: "Influence of Democracy on the Feelings of Americans" by Alexis De Tocqueville, "Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery" by John Mueller, and Chapters I and II of Saul Alinsky's *Rules for the Radicals*. Because critical reading is an important goal of this module, you are expected to read all three of these items carefully. The following provides a brief summary of each reading and some questions to consider as you read:

De Tocqueville, Alexis: "Influence of Democracy on the Feelings of the Americans"

Alexis De Tocqueville (1805-1850), born of a noble French family, spent his early career as an assistant magistrate in the French government. In 1831, he journeyed to America in order to study its penal system. Following this trip, he wrote the book *Democracy in America* (1835), a much heralded commentary on the condition of the new American state and its people. In this classic, he perceptively analyzes the role of "associations" and money in American life, as well as American beliefs in liberty, equality, and individualism.

The purpose of assigning this reading is for you to define the building blocks of democracy: freedom and equality. Consider the following questions as you read:

- Does the word *democracy* necessarily equate freedom and equality?
- De Tocqueville distinguishes between a *civil society* and a *political world*; how would this division apply to you and your classmates?
- Does the concept of democracy necessarily embrace individualism?
- If so, are all individuals equal and free in a democracy?
- If not, what are the underlying variables whereby people may not share equally in a democracy (class, race, gender, etc.)?

This reading will most likely provoke some strong patriotic reactions in some of your classmates. If you truly believe in democracy and feel it works, then how can we-- as global citizens -- endorse the exploitation of the natural and human resources of developing countries?

Mueller, John: "Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery"

John Mueller, a professor of political science at the University of Rochester, is an authority on how public opinion influences, and is affected by, foreign affairs. He is author of *Retreat from Doomsday: Obsolescence of Major War* (1989) and *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (1973). Mueller makes three arguments in an effort to help explain the growth of democracy over the last two centuries. First, he argues the simplicity of the notion of democracy, which does not need elections to take place. Second, he argues that democracy has little to do with political equality. Lastly, Mueller suggests that democracy does not challenge individuals to be more than average human beings.

This reading challenges the notion that all the people of a nation are represented in a democracy. Many Americans live day to day without giving thought to a government body that has been elected by the people. This article asks "who are 'the people'?" -- all the citizens of a democracy or just the ones who vote? Are procedures like elections simply symbolic in a democracy? If the government does not represent *all the people*, then *who does it* represent?

After you read this article, reflect on your own participation in the democracy in which you live. Do you vote at every national and local election? Why or why not?

> **Alinsky, Saul: *Rules for the Radicals,* Chapters I & II**
> These two chapters offer a radical view of democracy. The following excerpt gives a sense of the extremity of this piece. "In this book we are concerned with how to create mass organizations to seize power and give it to the people in order to realize the democratic dream of equality, justice, peace, cooperation, equal and full opportunities for education, full and useful employment, health, and the creation of those circumstances in which man [sic] can have the chance to live by values that give meaning to life. We are talking about a mass power organization which will change the world into a place where all men and women walk erect, in the spirit of that credo of the Spanish Civil War, 'Better to die on your feet than to live on your knees'."

This reading challenges the notions of an "authentic" democracy. Is the United States truly a democracy or do we need another revolution to achieve a "real" democracy? This reading is an important conclusion to our discussion of citizenship in this unit because it considers the proposed democratic revolution as an "international" process. It is the first in the unit to challenge the concept of citizenship within a nation state's borders; Alinsky proposes that we are all becoming global citizens whose loyalties transcend political boundaries.

After you have completed these readings, you might begin to question the ideas of democracy and you may even oppose the suggestion that you do not live in a democratic nation. You should, however, begin to see how notions of community at various scales are important aspects of American democracy. It is within these various communities that we do many of the things that are integral parts of a democracy -- we express our beliefs and values, either through formal means such as elections, or through less formal interactions such as debates or arguments; we define what it means to be a citizen and negotiate the rights and duties that citizenship entails; and perhaps most importantly, we make decisions together that affect the future of our community -- be it our neighborhood, our state, our nation, or even the world.

1 Citizenship and the American Democracy

Instructor's Guide to Activities

Goal

This unit introduces students to a number of concepts that reappear throughout the module including rational choices, norms, civil society, and modes of participation. Such concepts may be considered integral to the building of community at various scales. The central question is, can democracy in the United States be understood in terms of procedures (such as competitive elections), outcomes (who wins, who loses), sources of legitimate political power (the consent of the governed), or some combination of these factors? This is a recurring question and an enduring dilemma in public policy. The activities suggested for this unit are designed to help students understand that although the principle of equality may be established in civil society, it may not prevail in the political world. For example, whereas people may have equal rights in seeking wealth by the same means, not all individuals take an equal share in government.

Learning Outcomes

After completing the activities in this unit, students should:

- be able to take good notes on readings;
- understand the concepts of a civil society and equality;
- have discussed whether or not freedom is confined to democracies;
- have considered whether equality can be achieved; and
- have debated whether or not democracy simply promotes mediocrity.

Choice of Activities

It is neither necessary nor feasible in most cases to complete all activities in each unit. Select the ones that are most appropriate for your classroom setting and that cover a range of activity types, skills, genres of reading materials, writing assignments, and other activity outcomes. This unit contains the following activities:

1.1 Getting Started -- What is a Community?	-- Creating a mental map of a community and class discussion
1.2 Taking Good Notes	-- Text comprehension and note taking
1.3 Is Democracy Fair? -- A Class Debate	-- Class debate or panel discussion about the nature and fairness of democracy
1.4 Masking Diversity -- Discovering the Power of Scale	-- Analysis and mapping of census data at various geographic scales

1.5 Interpretation and Prediction of Voting Results -- Analysis of data on voting trends, using tables, maps, and census publications

1.6 Role Play on a Controversial Local Issue -- Mock public hearing on a local development or siting issue

1.7 Does Democracy Mean Equity? -- Text comprehension and reflective writing

Suggested Readings

The following readings accompany the activities for this unit. Choose those readings most appropriate for the activities you select and those most adequate for the skill level of your students.

- Background Information to Unit 1 (all students should read)
- Alinsky, Saul. 1971. Excerpts from *Rules for radicals: A practical primer for realistic radicals.* New York, NY: Random House.

  An easy read, if dated, but one that will certainly provoke some strong reaction. Alinsky's is an extreme and certainly controversial point of view.
- Clark, W.C. 1987. Scale relationships in the interactions of climate, ecosystems, and society. In K. Land and S. Schneider, eds. *Forecasting in the social and natural sciences.* Dordrecht: D. Reidel, pp. 337-378.

  A scientific text with which students might need some guidance (more with interpreting graphs than understanding the text). Recommended for a course in which environment-society relationships are central. Easier for students with some physical science background, but that's not essential.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. 1945. Influence of democracy on the feelings of the Americans. From *Democracy in America.* Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 62-72.

  This is a fairly long piece, and may be at times hard to get through for first year students. However, it's a classic and is recommended in courses oriented toward political and/or philosophical aspects of the issues discussed in this unit.
- Meyer, W., D. Gregory, B.L. Turner, and P.F. McDowell. 1992. The local-global continuum. In Abler, Marcus, and Olson, eds. *Geography's inner worlds.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 255-279. (provided)

  An overview chapter on where and how geographic scale matters in geographic research. This piece is not always an easy read because it relies on some sophisticated social scientific vocabulary, so some guidance is advised. But it picks up the themes of this module: globalization and global change through various forces, the local in the context of the global, thinking globally and acting locally (which is turned on its head in this module).
- Mueller, John. 1992. Democracy and Ralph's pretty good grocery: Elections, equality, and the minimal human being. *American Journal of Political Science* 36(4): 938-1003. (provided)

  Not difficult reading for undergraduates with good and well-outlined arguments.

Activity 1.1 Getting Started -- What is a Community?

Goals
The central theme of this module is "community" as it relates to global change. This activity explores the linkages among communities at various scales and the relationships between communities and larger economic, cultural, political, social, and environmental processes.

Skills
✔ creating mental maps
✔ class discussion

Material Requirements
- *Student Worksheet 1.1* (provided)
- paper and pens

Time Requirements
one class period (50 minutes)

Tasks
Starter activities and/or questions are designed to capture student interest, to recall students' existing knowledge on a subject, to engage them with the subject, and/or to stimulate their thinking with provocative statements. Ask students to take a blank piece of paper and draw "their world" or "community." Don't give any more directions than that. Through this cognitive mapping exercise, students begin to articulate their role in various types/ levels of communities.

The questions on the student worksheet encourage students to define what they mean by "community." If students themselves do not mention notions of equality and equity, you can bring those ideas into the discussion and ask whether these concepts would play any role in defining community and a sense of belonging.

The list of starter questions below may help you begin a class discussion on the issues of communities, democracy, and linkages to the environment. These questions can be used to prompt students to ponder terms that they use on a daily basis but probably have not spent much time reflecting on.

- What does the word "community" mean to you? What does your community look like?
- To what extent is having a shared place or location necessary to the existence of a community (i.e., are communities necessarily place-based)?
- What types of communities do you identify with?
- What makes you feel like you *belong* to this community?
- What type of sub-groups constitute your community?

- Are opportunities equally or unequally distributed among different segments of your community?
- Does "community" have anything to do with "society" for you?
- What does the term "citizenship" mean to you?
- How would you define "environment?"
- Do you see a connection between citizenship and environmentalism? What about, e.g., environmental groups?
- Do you see a connection between economics and environmentalism?
- What does "think globally, act locally" mean to you? How do you understand that slogan? Do you think it is true in essence?
- What do you think of it when it's turned around: "Think locally, act globally?" Does this make sense to you?

It is important not to convey the idea that there is a single correct answer to each of these questions. By validating students' ideas and inputs, you encourage them to engage with this subject matter personally. Go through the questions relatively quickly (a few minutes on each).

Activity 1.2 Taking Good Notes

Goals
In this activity, students learn to take clear, pertinent, and concise notes on assigned readings. The activity is introduced early in the module to encourage students to make note taking a regular habit throughout the module and the course.

Skills
✔ note taking
✔ critical text comprehension

Material Requirements
- *Student Worksheet 1.2* (provided)
- *Supporting Material 1.2* (provided)
- Suggested or alternative readings

Time Requirements
Variable (depending on length of chosen readings and students' skill levels)

Tasks
With help from guiding questions and from the instructor, students learn how to take good notes on their readings, i.e., they learn to discern the structure of a text and subsequently to structure their own notes, to paraphrase the main argument(s), and to distinguish "important" information from "text fillers."

A hand-out on note-taking is provided in *Supporting Material 1.2*. Students should be encouraged to use it as a "standard" exercise they do automatically as they read assigned class material. The time required varies with the length of the readings and students' reading skills and ease with the material. Instructors should choose readings accordingly.

Activity 1.3 Is Democracy Fair? -- A Class Debate

Goals

Students debate the nature of democracy using the perspectives found in the background readings.

Skills

✔ text comprehension
✔ note taking
✔ communicating (listening, interpreting, forming arguments)
✔ forming one's own opinion
✔ relating a text to the student's own situation
✔ participation in group or panel discussion (arguing, listening, leading, note taking, process evaluating)

Material Requirements

- *Supporting Material 1.3* (provided) or your own selection of statements from the readings (copied onto an overhead transparency or provided as hand-outs)
- Suggested Readings: De Tocqueville (1945), Mueller (1992) and Alinksy (1971)

Tasks

Students should read the suggested readings prior to coming to class. Use the statements provided in *Supporting Material 1.3* to initiate a class discussion and to stimulate students' responses. These statements are derived from the suggested readings; you can choose to focus on those that best fit the goals of your course. Using the statements, prompt students with questions like:

- "Let's have a show of hands of all those who agree with ..., do not agree with ..., 'kind of' agree with..."
- "Why?"
- "What do you think of ...?"
- "How are things in our country in this [...] respect?"
- "In the community that you feel you belong to, do you feel there is equality?" etc.

To begin a debate, assign one part of the class to represent Alinsky's viewpoint and another part to represent De Tocqueville's. Either in a panel or in several groups, have students debate the three questions listed below (again, without correct answers).

- "What does a 'perfect' democracy look like?"
- "What is the best way to ensure equality? Equity? And what's the difference anyway?"
- "What do you think the American Democracy needs to be a better democracy?"

Students should use the arguments and positions of each author to discuss and debate each question. If you use the panel format, assign individual students to the roles of panel/discussion leader, reporter (taking notes of main arguments and the course of the debate), process observer (making sure that each panelist gets an adequate amount of time to speak and that the discussion is civil) and/or panelists (who might take one of the previous roles as well). Conclude the debate by reconvening the class and discussing briefly what they learned.

Activity 1.4 Masking Diversity -- Discovering the Power of Scale

Goals

Students understand the power of geographic scale in masking socio-economic diversity. This activity, as well as Activity 1.5 and 1.6, is useful in making the discussion of community more real to students by linking it to activities that require them to consider concrete, local community issues.

Skills

✔ analysis of census data
✔ presenting data on maps
✔ understanding the concept of geographic scale
✔ working in small groups

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 1.4* (provided)
- Census data at a number of different geographic scales (block, block group, census tract, county, or state)
- Maps corresponding to the census data
- Suggested Readings: Meyer et al. (1992) and Clark (1987)

Time Requirements

One class period (50 minutes) for the in-class portion of the activity; allow additional time for students to complete the homework portion (7 -10 days) and for them to present their work (one class period).

Tasks

Begin by having the class look at a list of the variables collected in the decennial Census of Population and Housing (by the U.S. Bureau of the Census). You might choose to provide this list on an overhead transparency. Next, ask students to identify at least twenty variables from the

list that they think are most important in characterizing a community or area. Some possibilities include gender, race, ethnicity, level of education, income, number of children, or number of elderly, among others. Using state-level data for several of the variables selected by the students, show them how to convert the raw numbers into percentages and explain how the conversion to percentages allows for a relative basis of comparison among different places. Discuss the picture of urban social geography presented by the data at this level. Ask students if this is an accurate representation of their city or community and explore how aggregate levels of data can mask diversity present at smaller geographic scales.

As a homework assignment, students work with census data to assess social geographies that are visible at geographic scales smaller than the state. Students assume the role of a campaign planner whose candidate will soon make a campaign stop in the area. Their task is to provide the candidate with information on the social composition of the local community and to link this information to the candidate's platform and other election issues. If an election is approaching in your area, this is a great opportunity to link classroom activities with current political issues.

This project can be done individually or you can create teams of campaign planners to work together. Assign each student or group a particular geographic scale of analysis (e.g., region, county, census tracts, census block groups, or census blocks). If you are considering a specific political race, you may want to select geographic scales that are a good fit with the geographic area that the candidate represents (i.e., counties for state-level congressional representative races or census tracts or blocks for city council races). Students should choose one or two of the variables discussed above and extract the data for those variables at the assigned scale from the most recent census. Each student or group should design a mapping scheme and map the data using the blank maps of the various geographic areas. Those working at smaller scales (e.g., blocks or block groups) should be required to create maps for total areas that are smaller than those working at larger scales (e.g., counties). The Student Worksheet provides detailed instructions for students on how to map the data.

After they have completed the maps, students write a 2-3 page summary of their findings. Students should explain in their report how their findings differed from the state-level analysis and how the information is related to their candidate's campaign. Each student or group will give a brief presentation (10 minutes) to the class of their findings and the maps they produced. Allow students sufficient time to examine the maps created by other students for different variables and at different scales. This is an important step because it allows students to see if any variables have similar distributions and to see how the spatial patterns change with changing scale.

Activity 1.5 Interpretation and Prediction of Election Results

Goals

This exercise is designed to demonstrate that the right to vote -- the cornerstone of our democracy -- is not widely practiced in the United States.

Skills

✔ map reading
✔ reading and interpreting voting tables
✔ collecting socioeconomic data

Material Requirements

- Newspaper clippings or other information on recent elections including voting tables, interpretive articles, precinct maps, and/or election result maps

Time Requirements

30 minutes

Tasks

Most of your students will probably feel that the United States is the "most" democratic nation in the world. In this activity, students look at community and/or U.S. voting trends as depicted in election materials that you provide. (If you use election data for the same area or community that students looked at in Activity 1.4, they will be able to make connections between the census data and patterns in voter behavior.)

Looking at the voting data, ask students "What patterns do you see? Is voter turnout in the community/ U.S. high or low? In what sense? What do these considerations and comparisons indicate about citizenship in the United States?" (You may want to focus on general election results or a hot referendum topic.) Informal questioning will reveal whether students make blind or informed guesses, i.e., whether or not they apply knowledge previously established in class. As a follow-up to Activity 1.4, have students investigate the role of scale: At what scale are each of these processes, as tied to the voting patterns, operating?

Finally, ask students to explain the concept of "community" on the basis of socio-economic and voting patterns.

Activity 1.6 Role Playing on a Controversial Local Issue

Goals

Students become aware of the difficulties of decision making within a democracy by exploring a controversial local siting or development proposal. They can see the various and often competing perspectives surrounding a local issue and understand the extent to which these perspectives vary according to community characteristics and the geographic bases of stakeholders' positions.

Skills

✔ identification with a chosen role
✔ application of abstract concepts to a concrete local problem
✔ communicating
✔ writing a newspaper article (alternative activity)

Material Requirements

- Background material (reports, newspaper articles, etc.) on a local development or facility siting issue or information on local council, planning board, or zoning board meetings

Time Requirements

20 minutes to introduce the activity; one class period (50 minutes) for the hearing; allow at least one week for students to research and prepare their testimony

Tasks

Provide (or have students locate) background material on a local development or facility siting issue that is sufficiently controversial (i.e., an urban development project that would encroach on an ecologically valuable area, the siting of a waste incinerator facility nearby, the widening of a local highway to a four-lane freeway, the cutting of old-growth timber, or the opening of an open-pit mine, etc.) If there isn't such a controversy, create a hypothetical case.

After students have read the background information, ask them to identify potential stakeholders in the controversy while you list them on the blackboard. Each student (or small group of students) will then represent one of the stakeholders in the controversy (the developers, the city manager, the environmentalist, the concerned parents, the small business representative, etc.). Allow students sufficient time to do additional research, to develop a position and strategy, and to prepare a concise and well-supported testimony about the proposal. Ask them to think through and identify the geographic bases of their stakeholder's position. For example, someone who lives near a proposed highway expansion may have a different perspective than an out-of-town developer who hopes to benefit from the project.

On the assigned day, hold a public hearing (or several, if the class is big) in which representatives of all sides state their cases and try to convince a decision-making panel of their

respective positions. Adapt the scenario to the particular case in your area. For example, if the controversy is a siting issue, make the decision-making panel a siting board or city council; if the controversy is a proposed piece of legislation, make the activity a legislative hearing before a legislative committee. Ask teaching assistants, graduate students, and faculty to serve as members of the panel and instruct them to "play the role" meaning that some of them should be intimidating, loud, and visibly uninterested in their testimony. Others should be quite the opposite. This is the reality that many groups face when they are asked to provide input at a public or legislative hearing, so try to make it as real as possible.

After the hearing, the instructor should point out any common ground among the groups and encourage representatives to seek some form of consensus. If there were several hearings, compare results and observations on the process. Ask students to consider whether this process is "democratic" and whether they can imagine a better process for decision making in their local community.

The role play may be done twice. Once without any guidance, and the second time after some post-hearing reflection in class, i.e., after students have considered how they succeeded in incorporating their "ideal" notions of democracy, civility, equality, etc. into the "real" process of practicing these.

Alternative Activity
Students attend a local council, planning board, or zoning board meeting in the role of a newspaper journalist and write a short newspaper article summarizing the issues brought up on a particular development proposal. Make sure that students note the extent and type of conflicts that evolve and make sure they supplement the analysis with additional information from local officials or articles in the local paper. To what extent were the conflicts solved? How? What roles did various board members or council members play? Have the students present their articles to the class.

Activity 1.7 Does Democracy Mean Equity?

Goals
Students prepare a short, reflective paper on the tensions between democracy and political equality.

Skills
✔ text comprehension and reflection
✔ organizing a sequence of arguments
✔ writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 1.7* (provided)
- Suggested Readings: De Tocqueville (1945), Mueller (1992) and Alinksy (1971)

Time Requirements

3-4 days outside of class

Tasks

As a written homework assignment and after some class discussion or other activities, students write a relatively short (2-3 double-spaced pages) reflective paper considering the following topic:

> *Drawing from De Tocqueville and Mueller, discuss the tensions between democracy and political equality.*

Alternative Activity

Instead of having students think over these issues first in a written homework assignment, divide the class into small groups of students to debate and discuss the topic and the readings. You may wish to assign a particular question or two to each group to get them started. After the in-class discussion, students will then complete the written assignment.

1 Citizenship and the American Democracy

Student Worksheet 1.1

Activity 1.1 Getting Started -- What is a Community?

The central themes of this unit are democracy and "community" as they relate to global change. This activity explores the linkages among communities at various scales and the relationships between communities and larger economic, cultural, political, social, and environmental processes.

Part A: Mapping Your Community

1. In the space below, draw a picture or map of your community.

Part B: Defining and Describing Your Community

2. Define what you mean by "community."

3. To what extent is having a shared place or location necessary to the existence of a community (i.e., are communities necessarily place-based)?

4. What types of communities do you identify with? What makes you feel like you belong to this community?

5. What type of sub-groups constitute your community? Are opportunities equally or unequally distributed among different segments of your community?

6. Does community have anything to do with society? What does the term "citizenship" mean to you?

7. How would you define "environment?" Do you see a connection between citizenship and environmentalism? Do you see a connection between economics and environmentalism?

8. What does "think globally, act locally" mean to you? Do you think it is true in essence?

Student Worksheet 1.2

Activity 1.2 Taking Good Notes

As you work through the reading assignments in this module, do not just read the articles or just underline important passages. For understanding and remembering the arguments, it is even more important to take notes on what you read. The primary purpose of taking notes is to produce a brief overview of a text to help your memory recall the big picture.

Refer to the hand-out provided by your instructor on how to take good notes so you can follow and better understand the six steps of note taking listed below.

Steps in taking notes on your readings:

1 **Gather the most obvious clues!**
2 **Put your mind's antennae out!**
3 **Read the text (again)!**
4 **Note the main argument!**
5 **Concisely list the supporting arguments under each heading (or subtitle)!**
6 **Check whether it makes sense!**

Student Worksheet 1.4

Activity 1.4 Masking Diversity -- Discovering the Power of Scale

In this activity you will explore the power of scale in masking geographic diversity. With your instructor, you have already looked at the variables collected by the decennial U.S. Census and have selected several variables that you thought were important in characterizing a community. You have also seen how some of the diversity within your state is hidden when you collect data aggregated at the state level. In order to see some of the diversity among different areas within the state, you need to look at more disaggregate geographic scales.

In this activity, you assume the role of a campaign planner whose candidate is making a campaign stop in your area very soon. Your task is to provide the candidate with information on the social composition of the local community and to link this information to the candidate's platform and other election issues.

Data Collection

Your instructor will assign you several variables and a particular geographic unit to examine for the remainder of this activity (i.e., county, census tracts, census block groups, or census blocks). We'll use census tracts as an example throughout the remainder of these instructions. Find the data on your assigned variables for your assigned areas and convert the raw numbers to percentages. You may choose to keep track of your data in a table like the one below:

Tract #	Variable 1		Variable 2		Variable 3	
	raw	%	raw	%	raw	%

Mapping

You will now map the data that you have just collected. Use the blank maps provided by your instructor and follow the steps below to create your maps.

1. You are going to create choropleth maps which are maps that use colors or shades to represent areal data. Maps that use a different shade or color for every single census tract are not recommended because they are difficult to read or interpret. You can simplify the data by creating groups or classes into which the census tracts fall. As an example, start with the data for one variable. (You can either use the raw numbers of the percentages.) Determine the range of the values in the data set by arranging the values in order from lowest to highest. Next, break this range into 4 classes known as quartiles, or groups of equal size that each

capture one-quarter of the range of the values. Be sure that your data classes do not overlap.

This example is based on using quartiles, but it's only an example. Your group should decide how best to display the data for your variables (i.e., you can group the data in some other way if you think it would be better).

2. After you've created groups or classes for the data, assign a color for each class. Choose a color pattern that will best illustrate the data in a way that the reader can quickly understand and interpret the phenomenon you are mapping. Here are some simple rules of good color patterns:
    - the highest class should be the darkest color;
    - the lowest class should be the lightest color;
    - use colors within the same family or hue range. Cartographic tests demonstrate that choropleth maps with colors in a similar range are easiest for map readers to understand. For example, use a color range of reddish brown, to red, to orange, to yellow; and
    - reserve blank or white for areas with no data.

3. Before your map is complete, be certain that it has the following items:
    - A **title** that summarizes what the map is about. Include the name of the area and the year of the data.
    - A **legend** that illustrates the assigned color pattern for each class of data and provides the unit measurement of the data.
    - A **source** that tells the reader where you found the data and the date of that publication.

After you have completed your maps, write a 2-3 page report to the candidate in which you summarize your findings, discuss how they differed from the state-level analysis, and explain how the information is important to his or her campaign. You will give a brief presentation (10 minutes) to the class of your findings and the maps you produced.

1 Citizenship and the American Democracy

Answers to Activities

Activity 1.1 Getting Started -- What is a Community?

Students' maps and responses to the questions on the worksheet will vary.

Activity 1.2 Taking Good Notes

Use *Supporting Material 1.2* and your own experience and expectations to determine whether students are taking good notes.

Activity 1.3 Is Democracy Fair? -- A Class Debate

There are no right or wrong answers for this activity. The instructor should only facilitate when necessary in order to keep the debate on track. The content of the debate should clearly indicate whether students have read the background readings, have taken good notes, and have prepared for the debate.

Activity 1.4 Masking Diversity -- Discovering the Power of Scale

Answers to this activity will depend on the geographic scale and the census variables chosen for analysis. Use the criteria below to assess students' reports and maps.
Student reports should:

- summarize the findings concisely;
- identify how the data at the local scale differs from the state-level analysis; and

- explain how the data is important to the candidate, his or her platform, and related election issues.

Students maps should:
- be neat, clear, and contain a title, source, and legend;
- have appropriate data classes in order to display patterns and variations in the data; and
- have a color scheme within the same family or hue range.

Activity 1.5 Interpretation and Prediction of Election Results

This activity is mainly an in-class discussion. Student input will vary based upon the election data the instructor chooses for consideration. Students should be able to identify general patterns in the data and to make links between these patterns and the socio-economic characteristics of the study area.

Activity 1.6 Role Playing on a Controversial Local Issue

The role-playing in this activity will vary depending on the local issue selected and the stakeholders identified. Students testimony should be concise and well-supported with evidence. Students should not be allowed to state simply their group's opinions -- they must support that opinion. A good testimony will require that students do additional research in order to formulate their stakeholder's position. They should make clear in their testimony how the stakeholder's position and concerns are geographic (i.e., "I am a stakeholder because I live two streets away from the proposed landfill"). The oral presentations should be professional and should clearly articulate the concerns of the group. The instructor should structure the "hearing" such that students are able to "get into" the role-play and enjoy themselves.

Activity 1.7 Does Democracy Mean Equity?

In assessing the student papers, you may want to consider the following:
- Did it synthesize concepts, ideas, etc.?
- Did it demonstrate that the student understood the concepts of democracy and equality and the tensions between the two?
- Did it contain good citations?
- Did it demonstrate a clear organization of thoughts?

2 The Nation-State within the Global Community

Background Information

Our focus in Unit 1 was on community, citizenship, and democracy in the U.S.; in this unit we turn to nation-states within the global community. We concentrate on multinational corporations (MNCs) and trade to develop an understanding of the nation-state in the global context. The first part of this unit challenges the future of the nation-state, portraying it as an archaic concept that is past its prime. Provocatively we ask here, are the boundaries of the nation-state stronger than the promises of profit in the international economic community? The second part of this unit introduces the concept of the global economy and explores the role of MNCs in establishing global linkages. The readings upon which many of the activities are based are described briefly below.

The Nation-State

What exactly is a nation-state? To attempt a definition, let's look at both parts of the word. A nation is a group of people who share a similar set of beliefs regarding political concepts, ideals, and institutions. These people may also share a common language or culture, but more importantly, they adhere to a general set of political values. A state, on the other hand, is an entity that possesses certain characteristics including land territory, a population, a government, an organized economy, and a system of circulation (Glasner 1993). States also have some form of sovereignty as well as recognition by a portion of the international community. A nation-state, therefore, is a combination of these two terms -- quite simply, a nation with a state wrapped around it (Glasner 1993).

Nation-states are the basic members of international political organizations such as the United Nations and are the major actors in international military actions like the Gulf War. Many nation-states, or would-be nation-states, command great loyalty from large numbers of their inhabitants; thus, the nation-state is probably still the most important form (or one of the most important forms) of community around the world. It is what most of us know best. In fact, many of us probably think spontaneously of our own community and of world affairs in terms of nations and nationalism. Part of this unit examines the problems with localized nationalism, but the larger purpose is to examine some global forms of community that are alternatives and rivals to the nation-state. These alternatives may be better or they may be worse. In any case, they may be the future. The reading on the nation-state is:

Kennedy, Paul: "The Future of the Nation-State"
Paul Kennedy is an English-born historian, now teaching at Yale University. This selection describes the nation "from above," from the perspective of its centralized government and its role as an actor in international affairs. Kennedy points out the current challenges to the nation from both "transnational" and "sub-national" developments. His analysis prompts us to ask at least two basic questions: First, is his assessment of the seriousness of the challenges to the nation correct? And second, should we conclude that the nation is outdated and needs to be replaced by other forms of organization?

This reading challenges the concept of the nation-state as an *independent* state. Some of the questions raised are:

- Is the nation-state really a community?
- Do you identify more closely with a nation-state community or with other communities that transcend state boundaries, such as religion, culture, politics, or environmentalism?

The Global Economy

Global economic communities have grown rapidly in recent years. This growth is in part a result of changes in technology, communication, and human mobility. Global economic communities include investors, bankers, and financiers, and increasingly managers, scientists, engineers, educators, and other skilled professionals. These communities may not always speak a common language -- although English gains ground every day -- but they often possess a common style and an "economic culture" that cuts across other and national boundaries. An increasingly important component of these global economic communities is multinational corporations (MNCs), corporations with sites of production in various countries around the world.

There are several perspectives on the limits and possibilities of the global economic community. The predominant view suggests that countries are increasingly linked through global markets to networks of trade, investment, and technology transfer and that such networks are beneficial because they contribute to the overall efficiency and growth of the world economy and therefore to the material welfare of the world's people. This view is sometimes referred to as the "liberal" or "integrative" view of the world.

A second view suggests that economic globalization is not necessarily good and that it could undermine values of democracy if it is not accompanied by democratic political linkages among communities and citizens of different countries. Whereas the first perspective emphasizes values of efficiency and economic growth, the second view emphasizes values of political participation and self-determination as the basis of global community.

A third view is the "economic nationalist" perspective. From this perspective, the world appears neither as a transnational collection of investors and traders seeking wealth through efficiency nor as a society of global citizens seeking to expand democracy, but instead as nation-states competing for power and wealth. This view suggests that economic and industrial development are important to a state's power and status in the world and that states can use their power to manipulate the economy and promote rapid industrial development.

The issue of multinational corporations (MNCs) is an important point upon which these three perspectives disagree.

- Do MNCs promote efficiency, growth, and development or do they sustain global inequalities of power and wealth, keeping the majority of the world's population poor and subordinate to the wealthier minority?
- Can nation-states design policies that will allow them to benefit from operations of global firms?
- Can MNCs serve as vehicles for economic integration and cultural learning?

The readings for this section were selected to provide a range of perspectives on the global economic community including a critical analysis as well as a positive endorsement. The readings for the remainder of Unit 2 are summarized below:

Greider, William: *The Global Marketplace: A Closet Dictator*
William Greider is a journalist and author whose recent books include *Secrets of the Temple*, about the Federal Reserve, and *Who Will Tell the People?*, which deals with the corruption of American democracy. The previous reading described a world that is increasingly integrated by trade, investment, and technology -- in short, a kind of global community based on norms of private profit, economic efficiency, and growth. In this article, journalist William Greider presents an alternative view of the global community. If economic globalization occurs without a corresponding globalization of political democracy, Greider sees a threat to democratic self-determination. In a world where the bargaining power of MNCs and the competitive pressures of the market determine what, where, how, and by whom products are produced and consumed, the ability of citizens to democratically determine their own conditions of work and life will be undermined, thus weakening democracy through unrestrained economic globalization. Greider suggest that we ought to think about the possibilities of a global community based on values of democratic self-determination. How would our thoughts and actions have to change for Greider's vision of global community to be possible?

This reading may trigger some debate among your classmates. The article calls for a world democracy in response to the hegemonic policies of nations like the United States in areas such as free trade. Do you agree with the article or do you feel it is heavy handed and "unpatriotic?"

The Economist, "Everybody's Favorite Monsters: A Survey of Multinationals"

The Economist is an informative, conservative weekly magazine on economic and political affairs. MNCs are often thought to be the chief agents of economic globalization. This article argues that they may not be the monsters they are sometimes perceived to be. *The Economist* article also claims that there are additional disparities between perception and reality. Some MNCs are new; many are small. MNCs are more regional than global in orientation. Their ownership is far more spread across nation-states than believed, and alliances among them make it increasingly inaccurate to speak of "U.S. MNCs" or "industrialized-world MNCs." Some are even publicly owned.

Do you agree with *The Economist's* position. If not, what evidence would you use against it? Other questions you should consider are:

- Would life be somehow "better" (and for whom?) with some other channel for global integration, e.g., with less MNC activity but more trade or more migration?
- What about privatization of state-owned firms?
- Can MNCs and other buyers improve on the economic performance of such firms?
- If a main reason for the existence of MNCs is the high pre-production cost of research and development that leads to technological progress, then is a region that constrains MNC's going to sacrifice economic gain?
- What other institutions could better bear the costs and risks of research and development?

Mies, Maria: "Housewifization International: Women and the New International Division of Labor"

Maria Mies is a sociologist and author of several books, including *Indian Women and Patriarchy* (1980) and *The Lace Makers of Narsapur* (1982). She is currently active in the women's and environmental movements in Germany. Her most recent book is *Women, the Last Colony* (1988), written in collaboration with Claudia von Werlhof and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen. In this article, Mies argues that "housewifization" -- the notion that women worldwide are supported primarily by a husband (male breadwinner) while their job is to reproduce the family unit -- is a strategy by capitalists to blur the role of women in order to maximize profits. She asserts that poor women in Third World countries perform "informal" and thus invisible labor to make cheap items for First World women. This link allows capitalists (i.e., MNCs) to reduce labor costs and gain huge profits. Mies suggests there is a capitalist conspiracy of "blaming the victim" that sees Third World women as responsible for their own poverty when they over-reproduce instead of produce for the world marketplace. In this view, women are breeders of "human resources" who if "underutilized" (i.e., if they are but surplus, unemployed

labor) are inefficient consumers (extra mouths to feed but not contributing to international capitalism).

As you read this article, consider the following questions:

- Do you agree with the author?
- Are women more important as producers in the world economy or as reproducers of cheap labor?
- To what is Mies referring when she writes, "the enslavement and exploitation of one set of women is the foundation of a qualitatively different type of enslavement of another set of women?"

As an alternative, less dense, less ideological piece, you might choose to read the pamphlet entitled *Women in the Global Factory* (Fuentes and Ehrenreich 1983), which does not discuss the issue of the exploitation of First World women but does a good job in presenting both Asian and Mexican case studies of the working conditions for women in multinational factories.

2 The Nation-State within the Global Community

Instructor's Guide to Activities

Goal

In Unit 1, students explored the ideas of community, citizenship, and democracy in the U.S. In this unit students identify the global linkages of citizenship and nationhood through political, cultural, economic, and environmental processes. In these activities, we move from the block, neighborhood, and local community to the higher scales of the region, the nation, and beyond. Depending on the general subject of the course, you may want to pick your own theme through which to explore local-to-global linkages among people, and between people and their environment. For example, in Activity 2.1 instead of focusing on free trade in North America (which is the topic chosen here), you could look at issues of trade, isolationism, cross-border communication, immigration, and so on in the context of the European Community, or the Southeast Asian region; other possibilities include a discussion of the Antarctic Treaty, cooperation in the Mediterranean region to clean up the Mediterranean Sea, the trade in dirty wastes from rich to poor nations, or a cross-border issue relating to air and water pollution.

The first four activities (2.1-2.4) introduce students to global connections among nations using the nation-state as the basic unit. The remaining activities (2.5-2.8) focus upon *multi*national formations. The theme is multinational corporations and their impacts on the social, economic, political and environmental spheres. The focus on economic linkages is suggestive, not prescriptive. Other possible themes might include political unions like the European Community or the United Nations or any specific agency therein, or the distribution and power of world religions, or international environmental organizations like Greenpeace. The goal is for students to understand the connections of nation-states to these entities and to grasp the effects of these relationships on their own lives and the environment.

Learning Outcomes

After completing the activities in this unit, students should:

- understand the concept of the nation-state in terms of a community;
- have explored how nations relate to larger (supranational/global) communities and have considered the environmental consequences of these linkages;
- understand the role MNCs play in the establishment of a global community;
- have learned about the changes in social relations and the environment brought about by multinationals; and

- have formulated their own opinion on the impacts of MNCs using their previously acquired understanding of citizenship (national and international), democracy, and communities at various scales.

Choice of Activities

It is neither necessary nor feasible in most cases to complete all activities in each unit. Select the ones that are most appropriate for your classroom setting and that cover a range of activity types, skills, genres of reading materials, writing assignments, and other activity outcomes. This unit contains the following activities:

2.1 Interviewing the Local Community	-- Interviews with local residents
2.2 From Cradle to Grave	-- Research on the geographic path of a product
2.3 Trade Diversity	-- Data compilation on international trade
2.4 The Nation State and Global Linkages of Citizenship	-- Text comprehension and essay writing
2.5 International Trade and Film	-- Analysis and group discussion of film
2.6 Pretty Women	-- Analysis and discussion of images in advertising
2.7 Multinationals in Context	-- Research project on a multinational corporation and creative presentation
2.8 Multinational Corporations -- Monsters or Friends?	-- Text comprehension and essay writing

Suggested Readings

The following readings accompany the activities for this unit. Choose those readings most appropriate for the activities you select and those most adequate for the skill level of your students.

- Background Information to Unit 2 (all students should read)

Activities 2.1-2.4

- Garreau, J. 1979. Nine nations of North America. *The Washington Post*, March 4. Reprinted in *Annual editions: Geography 1991/92*, G. Pitzl, ed. Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group, pp. 153-159.

  A classic by now. A short summary of his book was repeatedly published in *Annual editions: Geography* (look for back issues of the early 1990s). For a visualization of the nine nations, see *Supporting Material 2.4*. The chapter is a challenge to, and therefore a possible basis for discussion of, the notion of a nation-state since Garreau's nations cross current state and national boundaries as we know them.

- Greider, W. 1995. The global marketplace: A closet dictator. In R. Nadar et al., eds. *Who will tell the people?* San Francisco, CA: Earth Island Press, pp. 195-217.

  Great article; journalistic style; polemical, interesting, engaging.

- Kaplan, D. 1994. Two nations in search of a state: Canada's ambivalent spatial identities. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 84(4): 585-606. (provided)

  Similar to Garreau, but applied to the topical issue of Quebec and Anglo-Canada. An article in social and spatial-scientific language, but an interesting focus on identity and perception as opposed to political boundaries as determinants of "nation" boundaries.
- Kennedy, P. 1993. The future of the nation state. In *Preparing for the twenty-first century*. New York, NY: Random House, pp. 122-134.

  The article itself is well written and easily understandable, but it may require some more background reading for introductory-level students or in-class discussion on what a nation-state is.

Activities 2.5-2.8: If you choose to focus on MNCs as the substantive example for international relations at the global scale, the following readings are useful as background material:

- *The Economist*. 1993. Everybody's favorite monsters: A survey of multinationals. March 27, pp. 5-20.

  A more conservative reading, but a good one. Fairly long and perhaps more useful as background reading for the instructor than for students.
- Maria Mies. 1986. Housewifization international: Women and the new international division of labour. In *Patriarchy and accumulation on the world scale*. Atlantic Highlands: Zed Books, pp. 112-128.

  A provocative, polemical reading, and one that requires a fairly sophisticated understanding of social science jargon. Great for well-read students. Otherwise it may be more appropriate for the instructor to read the chapter and convey the main point (multinationals exploit women) to the class.

Activity 2.1 Interviewing the Local Community

Goals

Students identify global linkages through trade relations by interviewing local residents about the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or by interviewing managers of local retail stores.

Skills

✔ informal interviewing
✔ communicating (listening, interpreting, forming arguments)
✔ graphically displaying information (maps, charts, etc.)
✔ oral reporting
✔ working in a group/ collaborative work

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 2.1* (provided)

- Note pad and pencil
- Battery-operated tape recorder (but note pad and pencil will do just fine)
- Some pro-and-con background information on the North American Free Trade Agreement

Time Requirements

10 minutes to introduce activity and one class period (50 minutes) for students to present the findings of their research. Allow students about 1 week outside of class to complete the research portion of this activity.

Tasks

Option 1

One impressive way to realize our global connections is to look at trade relations. This can begin in a common setting like a grocery store. Instead of having students look at product labels, divide them into small groups (of maybe three or four) and ask them to contact the sales manager of a local grocery store and request an hour or so of her/his time to talk about the locations from which the store gets its products. Discuss with them the kinds of questions they might ask the manager. Depending on the size of your town/city, interview teams should go to different grocery stores or different types of stores (auto parts supply store, furniture store, office supplies store, a produce stand, etc.).

Students should report back to the class in the form of an oral report and/or thematic maps and other graphics (bar charts, pie charts, tables, etc.).

Option 2

While NAFTA usually doesn't make it into the headlines of American newspapers anymore, the economic, social, and environmental impacts of NAFTA are becoming evident. Some regions, industries, or economic sectors are more affected than others, so this activity may be particularly instructive in these regions (e.g., the U.S./Mexican border) or in areas dominated by certain industries (e.g., some branches of agriculture). Before beginning this activity, students should have a well-developed understanding of what NAFTA is, what the predicted impacts are in different areas, and what the relevant arguments are on each side of the debate. Have students do some background research on NAFTA or present the material to them in a class lecture/ discussion.

As an activity, students interview local residents (i.e., people in the streets, people in an unemployment office, workers of a specific factory, and so on) to find out how much they know about NAFTA and to what extent they have been or are being affected by NAFTA. Students should form pairs and do at least five interviews per pair. Within each pair, students should alternate interviewing and note taking. Focus on economic, social, and environmental consequences. (How do supranational agreements affect Mr. Jack Jones of Odessa, Texas?) After completing their interviews, students should be prepared to present their findings orally to the class, relating both general findings that they derived from the interviews and personal stories (while respecting the interviewees' right for anonymity).

Activity 2.2 From Cradle to Grave

Goals

In this activity, students gain an understanding of all the materials that go into a product, the places this product has been, the number of people involved in producing and distributing it, and how the product symbolizes our connection to distant people and places and to the global environment that we use as a source for raw materials and as a sink for our waste.

Skills

✔ data searching
✔ production process understanding
✔ graphic and textual representation of findings

Material Requirements

- Any labeled product (i.e., a can of soda, a CD, etc.)

Time Requirements

10-15 minutes to introduce activity; 3-4 days outside of class

Tasks

Students decide on one product (a pencil, a soda can, a car tire, a CD, and so on) for which they find out the place(s) or country(ies) of origin; the pathways from the place(s) of origin to the user (the student) to the waste dump (its geographic path); and the processes of production/ manufacturing, sale/ distribution and collection.[1]

Students should summarize their findings in any creative way, e.g., a collage, or a poster with maps, graphics, tables and text, and/or a short summary report (less than one page).

Alternative

A variation of this activity is for students to find out the same kind of information about each individual "ingredient" that went into making the product: places and countries of origin, pathways, the various steps in the production process, the people involved (age, gender, race, ethnicity, class), etc. The idea, again, is to appreciate our manifold connections to people of all races, ethnicities, and classes, to near and far away regions, and to the global environment. Ask students to begin thinking about how these connections make a difference in our daily lives. Do they diminish the differences -- economic, social, cultural, ethnic, etc. -- that existed or still exist between regions, countries and cultures? Do you feel that this is good or bad, and why?

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[1] For a very similar example of such an activity, see Wolken, L.C. 1989. The international pencil: Elementary level unit on global interdependence. *Journal of Geography* 83(6): 290-293.

How do these relations improve or worsen the quality of life in each of the involved countries or regions? How are these relations gendered?

Activity 2.3 Trade Diversity

Goals

The purpose of this activity is to give students a qualitative and a quantitative notion of global economic relations.

Skills

✔ data acquisition
✔ transferring numeric data into graphs (e.g., pie charts, histograms)
✔ interpreting statistical data
✔ report writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 2.3* (provided)
- Sources of international economic statistics (e.g., the U.N.'s *International trade statistics yearbook*, Volumes I [trade by country] and II [trade by commodity], U.N.: New York)

Time Requirements

15 minutes to introduce activity; 4-5 days outside of class

Tasks

Students look up trade statistics on 10 nations of their choice. Ask them to include large and small countries from several continents. They should focus on the following statistics:

- total trade volume
- most significant trade partners (and the volume of the trade with each one)
- the export-to-import ratio
- the major trade products (for one possible source see above)

Students should compile and present their data in tables and graphs. For example, trade volume per trading partner can be nicely depicted in a pie chart. Students might construct a thematic world map that shows trade relations of one country with trade volume and trading items (trade flow map). This should be accompanied by a short (1-2 pages long) interpretive text.

The purpose of this activity is to give students a qualitative and a quantitative notion of global economic relations. Again, this relatively abstract understanding should be brought back home in a class discussion by asking students to think about what the numbers and relations mean for their way of life. If the U.S. had a higher export-to-import ratio, what would that mean for, say, car prices? If Canada's trade partners had a more equal share in the total trade volume, what

would that mean for product diversity? Why is it that I (located in Massachusetts) can get a cheaper quart of milk from Wisconsin than from Vermont? (Fill in any product and region of your choice!) What are the implications of this situation for the environment, here and there?

These kinds of questions are a personalized way to get at the main themes of this unit -- free trade and isolationism, and the economic, social and environmental costs and benefits of either.

Activity 2.4 The Nation-State and Global Linkages of Citizenship

Goals

Through readings, in-class discussion, and a short essay, students explore the nation-state, free trade, and the linkages between a nation and supranational entities.

Skills

✔ text comprehension and reflection
✔ organizing a sequence of arguments
✔ writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 2.4* (provided)
- Suggested Readings: Kennedy (1993), Greider (1995), Garreau (1979), and Kaplan (1994)
- *Supporting Material 2.4* (provided)

Time Requirements

The readings should be assigned as homework prior to class. Allow 20-30 minutes for in-class discussion and 4-5 days for students to complete the written assignment.

Tasks

Students read the suggested readings listed above. In the next class session, hold a discussion to get them thinking about the issues. The following is a list of questions to guide in-class discussions on the nation-state (a community to which the students belong), free trade, and the linkages between a nation and supranational entities.

- What is the nature of "community?"
- Is the nation state really a community?
- Is there such a thing as global community?
- How are you aware in your daily life that you belong to this community called "the nation" (alternatively: your nation of origin)?
- What do you know about free trade?
- Is free trade good or bad in your opinion, and why?

- According to Greider, what are the dangers of free trade and economic globalization? Who wins and who loses? How could it harm people's standard of living? How could it undermine democracy? What alternative vision of global community does Greider suggest?

You might also use *Supporting Material 2.4* as an overhead transparency to initiate discussion of Garreau's article.

Following the in-class discussion, students write a relatively short (2-3 pages long), reflective paper as a homework assignment on the assigned readings and class activities. Use the following examples as paper topics:

> *(1) Kennedy points out a number of "international" trends that challenge the power of the nation-state; Greider also challenges the nation-state, but in a very different way. Drawing on the readings, identify and describe concrete examples for each of these assertions.*

> *(2) Drawing on the readings and the class discussions and activities, form your own opinion on the isolationism vs. free trade debate. What do you think are the benefits for a nation-state of being part of the global community? What are the drawbacks?*

Activity 2.5 International Trade and Film

Goals

Students are introduced through film(s) to issues connected to international trade (i.e., multinational corporations, effects on workers, etc.)

Skills

✔ film comprehension
✔ interpretation of information
✔ critical discussion of movie

Material Requirements

- A copy of the movie *The Global Assembly Line*[2] (58 min.)

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[2]This movie can be obtained from the Public Broadcasting System's Archives in Maryland or through interlibrary loan just for the class session in which you plan to show the movie. Allow sufficient time to acquire a copy of the movie. The movie is also available on video tape at some rental stores.

The Global Assembly Line is a 1986 movie produced by Lorraine Gray and New Day Films, also available from Public Broadcasting System (PBS). The movie shows the lives of men and women factory workers when U.S. factories are moved to free trade zones in Mexico and the Phillippines. Although the movie focuses on workers, managers get to say a few words in justification for hiring women instead of men (their hands are small and nimble...). Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, a noted scholar of the maquiladores, is one of the authors.

- A copy of the movie *One Man's Enterprise*[3] (59 min.) (optional)
  If you or your students think that *The Global Assembly Line* was too biased toward the worker, then counterbalance it with *One Man's Enterprise*. This 1981 movie by WGBH (PBS) traces the progress of a Czech immigrant to Canada who started a shoe company, which expanded into a multinational in order to lower the labor costs and expand the market. The company expands into Africa and Southeast Asia and develops a colonial type relationship with the workers in those places.

Time Requirements

60 minutes for the film, plus additional time for class discussion

Tasks

Show the movie as an introduction to the second half of the unit, asking students to take notes on what they think is remarkable, memorable, interesting, disturbing about it. Use these comments as a basis for an in-class reflection on and discussion of the movie and as a lead-in to the readings and other activities associated with this unit. Note that both of these movies are slightly longer than some institutions' regular class sessions. You may ask students to plan to be there a little early or stay a little longer, or show the movie during a lab session, and shorten your next session by the equivalent amount of time.

Activity 2.6 Pretty Women

Goals

Through an examination of images in advertisements, students gain an understanding of how the seeming pleasures and profits of one part of the global society often involve the exploitation of another part.

Skills

✔ critical assessment of implicit messages in advertisements
✔ oral presentation

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[3]This movie was originally produced for Canadian Public Television. It can be obtained from the Public Broadcasting System's Archives in Maryland or through interlibrary loan just for the class session in which you plan to show the movie. Allow sufficient time to acquire a copy of the movie.

Material Requirements
- Used fashion magazines (students bring in their own)
- Suggested Readings: Mies (1986) and The Economist (1993)

Time Requirements
one class period (50 minutes)

Tasks
Ask students before class to bring in several issues of a fashion or a popular magazine that they have at home. You may want to provide a few issues for those students who don't purchase these periodicals. Using these magazines, students cut out pictures of women (and men) where the images are unrealistic and in some cases outrageous. If students come across examples of non-exploitative advertisement, they may compare and contrast them with the "bad" examples.

Alternatively, students may focus on the depiction and exploitation of minorities (e.g., American Indians and the appropriation of their cultures, or other native peoples from across the world and the exploitation of specialized knowledge by pharmaceutical and other companies) or the exploitation of nature. Interestingly, these go often hand in hand and thus comprise another theme to look for in all types of periodicals.

In combination with the readings, students should gain an understanding of how the seeming pleasures and profits of one part of the global society often involve the exploitation of another part. Use this activity and the images students select to initiate a class discussion of how MNCs make use of exploitative images in their advertizing to sell their products. How does this advertizing reinforce stereotypes and misconceptions? Do these images reinforce or threaten a global sense of community?

Activity 2.7 Multinationals in Context

Goals
Students research a MNC in order to understand the socioeconomic, political, and environmental contexts in which the MNC operates. Students also understand the reasons why MNCs locate where they do and identify the roles that MNCs play in their own lives.

Skills
✔ data acquisition
✔ analytical thinking
✔ creative writing
✔ graphic, textual, and/or oral presentation of findings

Material Requirements

- Access to socioeconomic statistics, textbooks, and/or maps of various countries (e.g., U.N. *Statistical yearbook*, Annual, New York, NY: UN.)
- Newspaper articles
- Annual reports
- Access to data gathered by local/regional organizations, e.g., an environmental group, a labor union (optional)

Time Requirements

10-15 minutes to introduce activity; allow at least one week outside of class for students to complete their research

Tasks

Introduce this activity by discussing with the class why MNCs are economically and fiscally profitable. As individuals or in groups, students select a multinational corporation of their choice (you might have to help them by naming some to get them started) for which they will try to answer the questions below. You should specify whether they should select a MNC in the local or regional area, or whether they should select one in a global context. The example they choose might be a MNC that has been in the news recently, one that has a plant located nearby, one on which many people in town depend for work, or one that is particularly important to the regional economy (e.g., a car manufacturer, a fertilizer producer, a food processor, etc.). Encourage students to find data on the company of interest from a variety of sources, e.g., they could request annual reports including employment data from the company; they could talk to people in environmental or other relevant action groups; or they could look for information at the Chamber of Commerce. The questions they should answer are:

- What does this corporation do/produce/distribute?
- What's the degree of vertical and horizontal integration?
- Where is this corporation's headquarters located? And where is the production plant located? (In other words, who works, and who earns the bulk of the profit?)
- Which countries are involved in this venture?
- What is the socioeconomic, political and environmental context in which the MNC operates its production plants? In other words, why did the MNC locate in a particular host country? (Be sure to include issues like gender and average age of workers, wages and benefits for laborers, natural resources, environmental regulations, level of prosperity, political regime, and tax rates in the host country, size of potential market, etc.)

The findings can be presented in a variety of ways, depending on the time allotted to this unit, class size, and student ability and creativity. Students could make posters, write a film script for a documentary on this MNC (a good idea if this is done as a group assignment), write a newspaper article that would reflect on the environmental and social performance of this company in the host country, create a "glossy" brochure on the city/region that is meant to attract MNCs to the area, or write a performance report on a MNC to the Office of Technology

Assessment or the Environmental Protection Agency. You can leave this choice to the students or specify the produce of their research.

Students learn in this activity that industries in general, and multinationals as primary examples, do not locate in certain places accidentally. As in each unit, students should also bring the issue of multinationals close to home. If the students look at MNCs in a global context, the following questions are important for them to consider:

- How do *we* profit from [this MNCs] operation in [...] (fill in an example, and a host country)?
- Why should I worry about the slack environmental regulations and enforcement in Tanzania? -- All I want is a cup of coffee ...
- So what's the connection between my lunch (a McDonald's hamburger) and the global climate?
- How many people does it take to drill a hole in the wall with a Black & Decker drill? (This is not a joke, but a question to stimulate critical and relational thinking.)
- I drove to school this morning with my Kawasaki motorcycle that had Exxon gas in the tank and Firestone tires on the wheels. How many countries were involved in getting me to class on time?

Activity 2.8 Multinationals-- Monsters or Friends?

Goals

In a written assignment on multinationals, students synthesize what they have learned through readings, class discussions, and other activities in this unit.

Skills

✔ text comprehension and reflection
✔ organizing a sequence of arguments
✔ writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 2.9* (provided)
- Suggested Readings: *The Economist* (1995) and Mies (1986)

Time Requirements

3 to 4 days outside of class

Tasks

As a written homework assignment and after some class discussion or other activities students write a relatively short (2-3 double-spaced pages), reflective paper on the topic below.

> *In what ways do multinational corporations (MNCs) advance or hinder world economic development? Consider the communities that MNCs belong to and how their belonging to particular communities affects their impacts on world economic development.*

2 The Nation-State within the Global Community

Student Worksheet 2.1

Activity 2.1 Interviewing the Local Community

One way to realize how interlinked we are across the globe is to look at trade relations. Working with the other students in your group, contact the sales manager of a local grocery store, and request an hour or so of her/his time to talk about where the store receives its products (places of origin and exchange). Before going to the interview, prepare a list of questions that you would like to ask the manager. You should also decide within your group who will be responsible for asking the questions, who will take notes, etc.

You should be prepared to present the results of your interviews to the class. You will be expected to use graphics in your presentation, including bar charts, pie charts, and/or tables as well as maps that show the places of origin and exchange for the various products sold in the store.

Student Worksheet 2.3

Activity 2.3 Trade Diversity

The goal of this activity is to help you understand the nature and extent of global economic relations. To begin, choose 10 nations that you would like to research. Include both small and large countries from several different continents.

1. _____ 6. _____

2. _____ 7. _____

3. _____ 8. _____

4. _____ 9. _____

5. _____ 10. _____

Use the sources of international economic statistics suggested by your instructor to extract data for each country on the following variables:

- total trade volume
- most significant trade partners
- volume of trade with each significant trade partner
- export-to-import ratio
- major trade products

Compile the data you collect into tables and graphs. For example, trade volume per trading partner can be nicely depicted in a pie chart. You may also want to construct a thematic world map that shows trade relations of one country with trade volume and trading items-- a trade flow map. You can prepare these materials by hand or with the help of a standard spreadsheet or graphics software package. Write a short text (1-2 double-spaced pages) to accompany your graphics in which you summarize and interpret the data.

Student Worksheet 2.4

Activity 2.4 The Nation State and Global Linkages of Citizenship

As you read through the readings suggested by your instructor, take notes that will help you prepare for an in-class discussion. (See Activity 1.2 for suggestions on taking good notes.) The following is a list of questions that will be part of the in-class discussion on the nation-state (a community to which you belong), free trade, and the linkages between a nation and supranational entities.

- What is the nature of "community?"
- Is the nation-state really a community?
- Is there such a thing as global community?
- How are you aware in your daily life that you belong to this community called "the nation" (alternatively: your nation of origin)?
- What do you know about free trade?
- Is free trade good or bad in your opinion, and why?
- According to Greider, what are the dangers of free trade and economic globalization? Who wins and who loses? How could it harm people's standard of living? How could it undermine democracy? What alternative vision of global community does Greider suggest?

After the in-class discussion, you will write a 2-3 page, reflective paper as a homework assignment. Choose one of the questions below as the focus of your paper:

(1) Kennedy points out a number of "international" trends that challenge the power of the nation-state; Greider also challenges the nation-state, but in a very different way. Drawing on the readings, identify and describe concrete examples for each of these assertions.

(2) Drawing on the readings and the class discussions and activities, form your own opinion on the isolationism vs. free trade debate. What do you think are the benefits, for a nation-state of being part of the global community? What are the drawbacks?

Student Worksheet 2.7

Activity 2.7 Multinationals in Context

In this activity, you will select and research a multinational corporation (MNC) of your choice. Your instructor will tell you whether to choose a MNC in the local or regional area or whether to choose one in a global context. You may want to choose one that has been in the news recently, one that has a plant located nearby, one where many people in your town work, or one that is particularly important to the regional economy (e.g., a car manufacturer, a fertilizer producer, a food processor, etc.). Using any available resources, including those suggested by your instructor, answer the following questions:

- Where is this corporation's headquarters located? (Who earns the bulk of the profit?)
- What countries are involved in this venture?
- What does this corporation do/produce/distribute?
- What's the degree of vertical and horizontal integration?
- What is the socioeconomic, political, and environmental context in which the MNC operates its production plants? In other words, why did the MNC locate in our town/region? (Be sure to include issues like age and gender of workers, wages and benefits for laborers, natural resources, environmental regulations, level of prosperity, tax rates and other incentives, size of potential market, etc.)

Other items may be important to consider depending on the local or regional context of the MNC. For example, you may investigate an accident, a strike, a case of uncovered fraud, major civil rights violations, marked environmental pollution, or, on the positive side, increasing economic prosperity and -- by way of attracting other industries -- economic diversification, and general increase of attractiveness of a location. If you are researching a MNC in a global context, consider some of the following questions:

- How do *we* profit from [this MNCs] operation in [...] (fill in an example, and a host country)?
- Why should I worry about the slack environmental regulations and enforcement in Tanzania? -- All I want is a cup of coffee ...
- So what's the connection between my lunch (a McDonald's hamburger) and the global climate?
- How many people does it take to drill a hole in the wall with a Black & Decker drill? (This is not a joke, but a question to stimulate critical and relational thinking.)
- I drove to school this morning with my Kawasaki motorcycle that had Exxon gas in the tank and Firestone tires on the wheels. How many countries were involved in getting me to class on time?

You should try to find information on the company of interest from a variety of sources, e.g., you could request annual reports including employment data from the company; you could talk to people in environmental or other relevant action groups; or you could look for information at the Chamber of Commerce. Your instructor can also point you toward other sources of relevant information.

Your can choose to present your findings in a variety of ways -- writing a critical op-ed piece, or a "glossy" brochure on the city/region that is meant to allure MNCs to locate in the region, a performance report on a MNC to the Office of Technology Assessment or the Environmental Protection Agency, a poster presentation, or a film script for a documentary on the MNC.

Student Worksheet 2.8

Activity 2.8 Multinationals-- Monsters or Friends?

Write a relatively short (3 pages doubled spaced) reflective paper using the assigned readings, class discussion, and other activities as background information. You should addres the following question in your paper:

> *In what ways do multinational corporations (MNCs) advance or hinder world economic development? Consider the communities that MNCs belong to and how their belonging to particular communities affects their impacts on world economic development.*

2 The Nation-State within the Global Community

Answers to Activities

Activity 2.1 Interviewing the Local Community

The results of the students' interviews will vary depending upon which option of the activity they complete, the types of products and stores they target, and the people they choose to interview. The presentations of their interviews should make effective use of graphics, charts, maps, and excerpts from their interviews and should highlight the linkages among trade, supranational agreements, and the local community.

Activity 2.2 From Cradle to Grave

Students findings will vary based upon the product they choose to investigate. Students should summarize their findings in any creative way, e.g., a collage, or a poster with maps, graphics, tables and text, and/or a short summary report (less than one page). Their summaries should contain the following information:

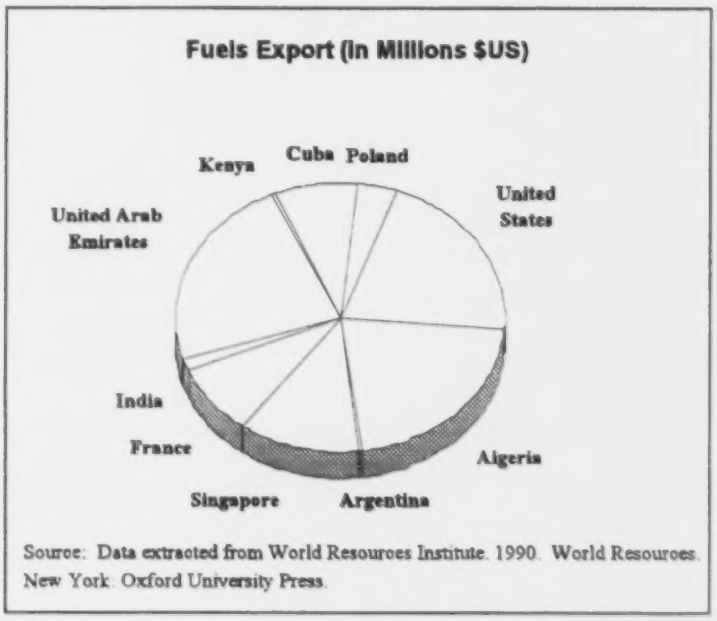
- place(s) or country(ies) of origin
- the pathways from the place(s) of origin to the user (the student) to the waste dump (its geographic path)
- the processes of production/ manufacturing, sale/ distribution, and collection

Activity 2.3 Trade Diversity

The products from this activity will vary depending upon the particular countries that students choose to research. Students should find the following statistics for the countries they select:

- total trade volume
- most significant trade partners (and the volume of the trade with each one)
- the export-to-import ratio
- the major trade products

Students should compile and present their data in tables and graphs. The graph below for one variable is just one example of the types of graphs students should produce:



Source: Data extracted from World Resources Institute. 1990. World Resources. New York: Oxford University Press.

Activity 2.4 The Nation State and Global Linkages of Citizenship

Student papers will vary depending upon the question they choose to address. Use general criteria below to guide your assessment of the papers or see *Notes on Active Pedagogy* for additional suggestions on responding to student writing.

- Does it answer the question as posed?
- Does it demonstrate a thorough understanding of the concepts covered in the suggested readings?
- Is it concise and well-written?
- Does it represent several perspectives?

Activity 2.5 International Trade and Film

This is a class discussion activity and therefore there are no specific answers.

Activity 2.6 Pretty Women

This activity is primarily a method for generating an interesting class discussion about the use of images in advertising, the links between such images and forces of exploitation, and the ties to MNCs and the global community. Because of the variety of images that students might find and the nature of the activity, there are no specific answers.

Activity 2.7 Multinationals in Context

Students' projects should address the questions posed in the Instructor's Guide and on the Student Worksheet for this activity. Students should be allowed the option of producing a creative product for this activity, rather than a traditional research paper. Regardless of the media of presentation, be certain that students:

- answer most of the questions they were asked to consider;
- clearly and effectively convey their findings in the product; and
- demonstrate that they have all shared equally in the work.

Activity 2.8 Multinationals-- Monsters or Friends?

Student papers will vary depending upon the question they choose to address. Use the general criteria below to guide your assessment of the papers or see *Notes on Active Pedagogy* for additional suggestions on responding to student writing.

- Does it answer all aspects of the question as posed?
- Does it demonstrate a thorough understanding of the concepts covered in the suggested readings and throughout the module?
- Is it concise and well-written?
- Does it present a balanced account of perspectives?

3 Local Communities and Global Processes

Background Information

In this unit our focus returns to the local community, but here we emphasize the local community in the global context. We examine communities that appear to be alienated from the world of global trade and industry but actually are tightly linked to global processes. The readings highlight small, South Asian communities whose self-sufficiency is being threatened by the interdependent global economy and by centralized national governments. The global linkages that enmesh these local communities include those created by the Green Revolution, those evident in industrial disasters such as that at Bhopal, and the linkages involved in large-scale development projects such as dams. These three types of linkages are explored further in this unit.

Perhaps the few people in the United States and Western Europe who can best recall belonging to such self-sufficient communities are Native Americans, the Inuit of Canada, and the Laplanders of Arctic Scandinavia. Most of us cling to an idealized myth of village life in which the linkages between a small village or town and other places are minimized. Even the earliest colonists of North America, however, were defined by their place within the interdependent imperial economies that transformed Europe.

Morally, the self-sufficient village possesses enormous appeal. Fifty years ago the major thinker in this domain was Gandhi, who taught the world non-violence as he led India to free itself from British control and who based his teaching on the moral need for communal self-government in every sphere -- economic as well as political. His ideology lives on in South Asian communities currently fighting to preserve their self-sufficiency, communities where women play a leading rather than a subordinate role in the fight against the westernizing of local cultures.

These moral teachings come at a high price, however, particularly in the eyes of those who wish to maintain the material standard of living that the interdependent global economy offers its beneficiaries. By comparison, life in self-sufficient village communities looks terribly stunted and poor.

The integrated global economy appears to benefit everyone. Inherently expansive, it presses for ever-widening markets to absorb the production of developed countries and of newly industrialized countries (NICs) like Taiwan or South Korea. But in many places this newly created wealth has done little to benefit the large portion of the population who owns no land and

has little but its labor. Furthermore the majority may find itself pressured into giving up valued elements of its own culture while having to adopt others' cultural traits it finds unpalatable.

The readings for this unit can be grouped into two sets. Those in the first set -- Barber (1992), Stavrianos (1981), and Dak (1989) -- concern the Green Revolution. The second group of readings -- Gupta (1991), Morse and Berger (1992), and Thukral and Sakate (1992) -- reviews the positive and negative effects of technology. The cases of Bhopal and Sarovar detail the grim realities of what can go wrong when First World nations administer development projects in the Third World. The case of Baliraja, by contrast, demonstrates how development projects, when initiated and monitored within the local community, can be extremely successful. These readings are summarized briefly below.

Barber, Benjamin.: "Jihad vs. McWorld"
Benjamin Barber is professor of Political Science at Rutgers University, where he developed a research center on the culture and politics of democracy. This essay argues that the world is being pulled in contradictory directions by two forces, parochial hatreds and universalizing markets. Are these forces, as Barber suggests, anti-democratic? Do you agree with the remedy he proposes (borrowing from the Green movement), "Think globally, act locally"?

Stavrianos, L.S.: "Multinational Corporations and the Green Revolution in the Third World."
The Green Revolution involved the transformation of agriculture in Third World countries through new strains of food crops, along with chemical fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation, and other more capital-intensive agricultural technologies developed in the laboratories of First World corporations and research centers. While many see the Green Revolution as a beneficial use of science and technology in order to feed the world's poor, historian L.S. Stavrianos takes a more critical view. Stavrianos sees the Green Revolution as creating international markets for U.S. multinationals interested in selling agricultural machines and chemicals. Within Third World countries, Stavrianos claims, the Green Revolution has benefited a minority of large and wealthy landowners who can afford the machinery, chemicals, and irrigation that allow them to get the most out of the new seed varieties. These farmers tend to grow cash crops for export in order to make a profit on the world market. As they have expanded, they have displaced small-scale peasant farmers growing subsistence crops that fed their families; these displaced farmers are then often forced into urban slums and shanty towns where they join the increasing masses of the impoverished and unemployed. Was the Green Revolution, then, on balance, a good thing for the Third World?

Dak, T.M. : "Green Revolution and Social Change: Some Reflections"
T.M. Dak is an associate professor of Sociology at Haraa Agricultural University in Hisar, India. Dak provides an account of the history of the Green

revolution in India. He also discusses associated social changes and evaluates the results.

Gupta, Ashis: "Bhopal, The Forgotten Tragedy"
Gupta describes and analyzes the 1984 Bhopal gas disaster both from a "local" Indian and a recently updated (1991) perspective. Can Bhopal be viewed as a local community "victim?" What is the connection between Bhopal and the Green Revolution? Has this tragedy been forgotten so quickly because it represents a failure of the predominant international economic system?

Morse and Berger: *Sardar Sarovar*
The members of this review included Bradford Morse, a former U.S. Congressman and the former Administrator of the United Nations Development Program, Thomas Berger, a Canadian lawyer known for his work on human rights, indigenous peoples, and the environment; Donald Gamble, a Canadian engineer whose expertise is in environmental policy and water development issues; and Hugh Brody, a British-educated anthropologist, now living in Canada, who has done studies of indigenous peoples and land use areas in northern North America including an impact study on the Alaska pipeline.

The reading encompasses three short chapters from this report. The first, the letter to the President of the World Bank, represents the actual document provided to the World Bank administration, summarizing and highlighting the conclusions of this review. Chapter 1 details the origins of the Sardar Sarovar project. Pay special attention to the roots and the escalation of this conflict. Finally, Chapter 5 is about the indigenous people in this valley.

Thukral and Sakate: "Baliraja: A People's Alternative"
This chapter is based on a study done by Sakate, a member of the faculty at Rajshri Shahu college, Kolhapur, India. Thukral, the co-author, is the project coordinator at the Multiple Action Research Group (MARG) in New Delhi, India. This reading presents a contrast to the case of Sardar Sarovar. In the case of Baliraja, the local people initiated the project based upon the farmers' need for water, which had become scarce because of repeated droughts. Besides the local initiative, participation, and use, also note that the project was much smaller in scale than Sardar Sarovar and that water was distributed equally to all.

3 Local Communities and Global Processes

Instructor's Guide to Activities

Goal

This unit brings the subject of globalization back to the home community, the neighborhood. The focus is on a key driving force behind globalization and global change -- technology. Students learn to connect environmental disasters and global environmental problems more generally (their media coverage, attitudes about valuing people's lives) with already established notions of a civil society. Students debate and assess whether the Green Revolution -- as an example of technological change experienced by small, underdeveloped agricultural communities -- was a good or a bad thing for the Third World.

The activities ask students to look critically at approaches to the "value of life" and thus to reconsider how democratic our "global community" really is. Are some lives more valuable than others? Do we value members of the global community in the same way as the members of our local community? Should members of the global community interact only to improve and advance technology or also to advance and insure global human rights? Examples include disasters and the current debate over effective and efficient global climate change abatement policies.

You may choose to focus on *agricultural technology* and use the 'Green Revolution' theme proposed for Activities 3.1-3.4 and the Union Carbide accident at Bhopal for Activities 3.5-3.8, or you may choose any other technological development with respect to extractive activities and human-induced disasters.

Learning Outcomes

After completing these activities, students should:

- understand the role agricultural technology plays in transforming the environment and the social relations among people using this technology;
- comprehend the linkages between big business (MNCs, agro-technological complexes, etc.) and small local farmers; and
- be aware of the significance of water for sustaining the use of the earth -- because many extractive technologies affect water resources.

Choice of Activities

It is neither necessary nor feasible in most cases to complete all activities in each unit. Select those that are most appropriate for your classroom setting and that cover a range of activity types, skills, genres of reading materials, writing assignments, and other activity outcomes. This unit contains the following activities:

3.1 Green Revolution Game	-- Role playing game and class discussion
3.2 Inequity and Poverty in Bangladesh	-- Role play, debate, and class discussion
3.3 Technological Change = Social and Environmental Change	-- Research and interviews in local community and creative presentations
3.4 Development (f)or Water? and The Daily Water Log	-- Research on local water resources, log of personal water usage, and presentation
3.5 What if...? Is Your Community Ready for Disaster?	-- Assessment of community disaster preparedness and creative writing
3.6 Think the Unthinkable!!!	-- Disaster scenario formulation and class discussion
3.7 The Media -- Living by Disaster?	-- Critical assessment of media and creative writing
3.8 Getting Involved	-- Participatory observation and/or involvement in community work
3.9 Response Paper	-- Text comprehension and synthesis and essay writing

Suggested Readings

The following readings accompany the activities for this unit. Choose those readings most appropriate for the activities you select and those most adequate for the skill level of your students.

- Background Information to Unit 3 (all students should read)

Activities 3.1-3.4: If you decide to focus on the Green Revolution or technology- and economy-driven agricultural change, the following readings are recommended:

- Barber, B. 1992. Jihad vs. McWorld. *The Atlantic Monthly* (March): 53-55 and 58-63.
  An easy reading. Places democracy in the power field between two forces -- economic marginalization and isolating nationalism that fragments supranational associations.
- Dak, T.M. 1989. Green revolution and social change: Some reflections. In *Green revolution and social change*. Delhi, India: Ajanta Publications, pp. 65-77.
  A critical view but certainly not the most negative reflection on the Green Revolution and its outcomes. An easy and quick read.

- Huke, R. E. 1985. The green revolution. *Journal of Geography* (November/December). Reprinted in *Annual editions: Geography 1991/92*. G. Pitzl, ed. Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group, pp. 20-26.

  This paper provides a brief historic and geographic view of the genetic and technological developments that led to the Green Revolution. It also raises questions on the unequal impacts of the revolution. A good introductory piece.
- Stavrianos, L.S. 1981. Multinational corporations in the Third World: Multinational corporations and the green revolution in the Third World. In *Global rift: The Third World comes of age*. New York, NY: William Morrow, pp. 446-450.

  Good freshmen level reading. Good if paired with French's (1995) *Forging a new global partnership*. Both are about multinational corporations, but present viewpoints from different times (1981 and 1995 respectively). Thus students get some temporal change and a cumulative impression of the issues of concern.

Activities 3.5-3.8: If you choose to focus on the Union Carbide accident in Bhopal, the following are selected readings on the case. In addition, we suggest one recent article on valuing people's lives differentially in the context of global climate change policy making. Do not feel restricted to these papers. You may select readings on a different (more topical or regionally more relevant) disaster or on a number of different disasters to work out commonalities.

- Gupta, A. 1991. Bhopal, the forgotten tragedy. In *Ecological nightmares and the management dilemma*. Delhi, India: Ajanta Publications, pp. 1-31.

  Very good reading for introductory-level students. Reflects on the accident and the developments and red tape problems since then.
- Morse, B. and T. Berger. 1992. Letter to the President and Chapters 1 and 5 from *Sardar Sarovar: The report of the independent review*. Ottawa, Canada: Independent Review, pp. xi-xxv, 3-7, and 61-79.

  Not directly relevant to Bhopal, but relevant to the local-to-global linkages of development projects. A straightforward reading on this World Bank-funded dam project. Good in combination with the Thukral and Sakate reading mentioned below.
- Thukral, E. and M. Sakate. 1992. Baliraja: A people's alternative. In E. Thukral, ed. *Big dams, displaced people: Rivers of sorrow, rivers of change*. New Delhi, India: Sage Publications, pp. 143-154.

  The alternative dam project: bottom-up rather than top-down like the World Bank-funded dam described in the Morse and Berger reading. An easy read, but advisedly only in combination with the Morse and Berger articles.
- Wysham, D. 1995. Ten-to-one against: Costing people's lives for climate change. *The Ecologist* 24(6): 204-206.

  This short article critically assesses the approach currently in vogue in Western, industrialized countries to put a price tag on people's lives in order to estimate the costs and benefits of climate change abatement policies. The price tag put on a person from an industrialized vs. an underdeveloped country makes for biased conclusions as to what policies to favor... Provocative to say the least!

Activity 3.1 Green Revolution Game

Goals

Through a role playing game, students become aware of the differential access of Third World farmers to resources. Students will also come to see the vulnerability of Third World farmers to the vagaries of nature and the market.

Skills

✔ role identification and play
✔ application of abstract concepts to a concrete local problem
✔ communicating

Material Requirements

- *Supporting Material 3.1* (provided)
- Suggested Readings: Stavrianos (1981), Dak (1989), Barber (1992), and Huke (1985)

Time Requirements

one class period (50 minutes)

Tasks

Students play the role of Indian farmers who have different levels of socioeconomic status and who have differential access to the modern, high-tech agricultural inputs that the Green Revolution promised. With their varying access to resources, farmers are faced with scenarios of either good or not-so-good years. In additional scenarios, "reality checks" such as debts, the threat of landlessness, or even cooperation among farmers can be introduced. To explain the game to the class, follow the instructions in *Supporting Material 3.1*.

This game and a follow-up discussion give students a good sense of the hardship and differential levels of vulnerability of Third World farmers to the vagaries of nature and the market, depending on farmers' access to resources (land, seeds, fertilizer, water, know-how, social networks). Use the following questions to guide a brief in-class discussion:

- How might local communities react to new agricultural technology?
- What are the effects of the Green Revolution upon local communities? (You may want to refer to the reading by Dak.)
- Which groups have benefited most? In which way? Why?
- Which groups have lost? In which way? Why?
- Are there more costs or more benefits to local communities from the Green Revolution?
- Should modern agricultural technology continue to be applied in all places? Who should use it? In what kinds of environments?
- What would Gandhi say?
- If future generations had a voice, what would they say about the Green Revolution?

Activity 3.2 Inequity and Poverty in Bangladesh

Goal
Students assume roles in a group discussion and debate and explore the conditions of the rural poor in the Third World.

Skills
✔ role identification and role play
✔ application of abstract concepts to a concrete local problem
✔ communicating

Material Requirements
- *Supporting Material 3.2* (provided)
- Background information on Bangladesh and/or the rural poor in the Third World

Time Requirements
one class period (50 minutes)

Tasks
Before beginning the role play activity,[4] it is useful to supply students with some background information on Bangladesh and/or the situation of the rural poor in the Third World so that the role play becomes more real for them. For example, newspaper articles of Bangladesh after a devastating typhoon might be a vivid illustration of some of the issues with which this activity is concerned.

Divide the class into five groups. Provide each group with sufficient copies of the role statements provided in *Supporting Material 3.2*. There are three to five roles per group, but groups can have several representatives of a given role. Each group deals with an aspect of underdevelopment in Bangladesh and should consider the questions listed below for their group.

Group A: Inequities between social classes, land tenure problems
Is it fair to have unequal land tenure?

Group B: The vulnerability and life quality of the poor
Do the poor deserve their 'fate'? How can the rich behave in the manner they do?

Group C: Repression, economic exploitation, high interest rates, illiteracy
Are interest rates fair? Are the poor stupid? Is poverty a matter of 'God's will'?

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[4]This role play is adapted from Toh Swee-Hin. 1988. Third World studies: Conscientisation in the geography classroom. In *Teaching geography for a better world*, eds. John Fien & Rod Gerber, 117-139. Edinburgh, UK: Oliver & Bord, after the original simulation by Hartman and Boyce (1983).

Group D: Corruption, inefficiency, bureaucratism
Is corruption inevitable?

Group E: Famine: natural vs. human-made disaster; oppression of women
Is famine a "natural" disaster?

Allow each group to choose and get familiar with their roles and provide enough time for them to debate their individual problems and the suggested discussion questions (about 15-20 minutes). After the small group discussion, bring the class together and ask one speaker from each group to give a short summary of their discussion.

The instructor should help the class by pointing out major findings and by generalizing carefully the situation in other Third World countries. In addition, the instructor should make explicit wherever possible the connections between global processes and the concrete situation of Bangladeshis.

Activity 3.3 Technological Change = Social and Environmental Change

Goals
Students gain an understanding of how changes in technology affect social relations, the character of communities, and the environment. This is one way of looking at the interactions between local communities and global processes.

Skills
✔ data acquisition
✔ semi-formal interviewing
✔ critical text and data interpretation
✔ oral or graphic/pictorial and textual presentation of findings

Material Requirements
- Access to the local grange, a farm bureau, a union, an employment office, archives, etc.
- Some background material and data on the chosen subject
- Battery-operated tape recorder (or simply a note pad and pen)

Time Requirements
10-15 minutes to introduce activity; 2-3 weeks outside of class

Tasks
Students go to the local grange or farm bureau, a union, the library, etc. to find historical data on an activity of their choice that has been affected by technology change. Agricultural activity is a prime example because changes are, to a significant part, driven by technological changes in the

production and marketing processes. The shift from family farms to agribusiness has profoundly changed the make-up of the U.S. economy, for example in food production, environmental conditions, rural and urban landscapes, relations between farmers and their land and labor, relation between urban and rural populations, relations between land owners and farm workers, the structures of families, and so on. Similar changes are likely to be found with other extractive activities or industries in general, e.g., in mining or forestry, cotton mills or manufacturing.

Using the agriculture example, students might look for data on the number of farms in their community, the size of the farms, the types of farms (meaning what was produced), the typical family size, number of non-family member workers, etc. You can adapt this list for other subjects. In addition, students might look for old photographs and maps in local libraries and archives to compare them with more recent maps and pictures.

Finally, encourage students to interview their grandparents or other seniors of the community to get a more personalized notion of "the olden days." Interview questions should relate to the kind of work they did, how they felt about their work and how they felt when things changed; how the community looked 30 or 50 years ago; whether they still know everyone in their neighborhood; and where their children are now and what they do for a living.

Students should report back to the class with a creative presentation, including visuals and text. If the project is more ambitious, you could schedule an exhibit of historical changes of the community, to be displayed in the department, school library, or even the local city hall or gallery. Such an exhibit could include photographs, interview excerpts, maps, a time line with significant data, as well as examples or drawings of old and new technology.

Activity 3.4 Development (f)or Water?! and the Daily Water Log

Goals

Students will understand how development and environmental issues are related. In many areas, issues surrounding water resources -- use, scarcity, development projects, pollution -- offer powerful examples of the local-to-global linkages between development projects and impacts on the environment.

Skills

- ✔ data acquisition
- ✔ analytical thinking
- ✔ critical contextual assessment of development efforts and trends
- ✔ maintaining awareness of one thing an entire day long
- ✔ measuring water usage
- ✔ simple calculations
- ✔ graphic and textual presentation of results

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 3.4* (provided)
- Access to U.S. Geological Service reports for the city or region or data from the municipal Department of Public Works
- Background information on a local or regional development project that would/did significantly affect water resources. Large regional examples include: the depletion of the Ogallala aquifer, urbanization in semi-arid regions (Los Angeles), the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the diversion of the Colorado River
- Notepad
- Bowl
- Measuring or other cup

Time Requirements

10-15 minutes to introduce activity
Part A: 1-2 weeks outside of class
Part B: 3-4 days outside of class

Tasks

Part A:
In the first part of this activity, students learn about water issues of their community or region: What are the water needs of this community? Is there a water surplus or shortage? Who are the big "water suckers" (certain industries, agriculture, households -- proportional shares)? What is the source of the community/region's water (groundwater, reservoir, import, etc.)? What is the quality of that water? Does it need to be cleaned before usage? Where does the used water go? Is there a water treatment plant (capacity, cost of operation, level of treatment)?

Divide the class into small groups. If the subject, class size, and locality allow, ask each group to consider a different aspect of water usage, e.g., industrial uses, agricultural water pollution, thermal water pollution by power plants, the state of local wetlands, etc. They should present their findings in a creative way using the appropriate language and visual means depending on the chosen form of presentation. Possible options include a slide show, writing a film script for a documentary or a report to the Environmental Protection Agency or the U.S. Geological Survey, or creating an educational brochure for the households of their community that would be geared toward water conservation.

Supplementary literature is certainly abundant. Students could also interview an appropriate person at the municipal Department of Public Works, the U.S. Geological Survey's regional center, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers local office, or someone from a locally involved environmental group.

Part B:
Once students have developed a basic understanding of water issues as they relate to development and the environment in their area, students will then explore their own role as

individuals living in the community and depending on its water. Students observe in a semi-scientific manner the amount of water they use on a normal day, what they use it for, and the many ways they are in contact with water.

From the moment of washing one's face with water after waking up, to taking a shower, drinking water, flushing the toilet, washing the car, watering the house or garden plants, to doing dishes and laundry, we use a lot of water all day long without being really aware of it. Some of us might be more aware than others, especially if water is a scarce or expensive commodity. Encourage students think about how their personal use of water relates to global environmental change.

Student Worksheet 3.4 lists examples of the types of activities that consume water. Students should not feel limited to these examples; they are meant simply to help them become aware of the many times a day we use water in one form or another. The worksheet also provides guidelines on how to calculate actual water consumption from the observations made during the day.

Students should prepare a clearly organized report that lists their activities involving water consumption and the amounts (however quantified) that they used, summed over the whole day. Students may present their results in the form of pie charts or other graphics.

Activity 3.5 What if...? Is Your Community Ready for Disaster?

Goals

Students learn about their community's preparedness for disaster and the difficulties such planning entails at the local level. The activity illustrates the ways in which local communities may confront the effects of global environmental changes or the impacts from future disasters.

Skills

✔ data acquisition
✔ informal telephone or face-to-face interviewing
✔ analytical thinking
✔ scenario thinking
✔ team work
✔ report writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 3.5* (provided)
- Access to emergency plans and reports of past disasters for the local community (e.g., through the Federal or State Emergency Management Agencies, fire departments, civil

defense offices, individual plans for industrial installations, or regional centers for specific types of disasters like the Hurricane Information Center in Florida)

Time Requirements
10-14 days outside of class

Tasks
Tell the class that they have been hired by the city council to assess the community's status of emergency preparedness. Set a firm date by which they must present their findings to the city council (a report with recommendations) and explain what their reward will be (e.g., a grade). (If you are aware of the fact that your community does not have an emergency plan or only an outdated one, you may in fact want to forward the result to the responsible agency!) The city council's main concern is people's safety (from injury or death) and their second concern is the maintenance of services of the community (to provide emergency assistance, to preserve a sense of community, to recover as quickly as possible, etc.).

If you have a large class, you may decide to split the tasks up by groups. Encourage students to acquire emergency plans from various agencies, to request time for an interview, or to speak with responsible personnel by phone. They might want to include maps and existing plans; they might create a realistic disaster scenario or base their recommendations on historical findings of past emergencies. You may show the class an example of a consulting report or leave the decision on how to present their findings to them.

Activity 3.6 Think the Unthinkable!

Goals
Students imagine a worst-case disaster in their community and consider the potential impacts to its population and the level of emergency planning in the community. This activity illustrates the ways in which local communities may confront the effects of global environmental changes or the impacts from future disasters

Skills
✔ scenario thinking
✔ communicating
✔ discussion

Material Requirements
none

Time Requirements
30-45 minutes

Tasks

Most of us experience disasters from the safety of our living room couch in front of the TV. This in-class activity is meant to bring hazardous events a little closer to home -- if only in our imagination. Depending on class size, this exercise can be adapted as a group discussion or as team work in several small groups. In the latter case, you may split the class up by geographic location of the neighborhoods in which they live, or by types of disaster impacts to consider.

Begin the activity by asking students to imagine a worst-case disaster hitting their city, town, or region. The disaster can be natural or human-induced, known or expected for your region due to its geophysical setting or its periodic meteorological extremes (i.e., an earthquake, a volcanic eruption, a tornado, a hurricane, or severe winter storm), or occurring at any of the industrial sites in your area (i.e., an accident in a nuclear or chemical plant, a mine explosion, or an airplane crash in an urban area).

Allow students to define the scope of the disaster (where it hit, how much of the town is affected, how many are injured, dead, how many buildings are destroyed, etc.). More importantly, have them imagine the concrete first order (and possibly higher order) impacts. Was there an emergency plan? Are people following it? Is it working? Who provides help during an emergency? How long before help is in place and functional? How long before people in the affected area can start the clean up, the repairs, and the recovery?

Remind students to think of details, and to be realistic about their scenarios; if they include a worst-case impact, they should have some good reasons for doing so. Encourage them to start thinking about impacts in their own neighborhoods. Specific and personal local knowledge helps to get students involved and to be grounded in a more "real" scenario. Make sure they understand that this exercise is not about thinking up a flashy Hollywood action thriller script, but about imagining being personally stricken by disaster.

Activity 3.7 The Media -- Living by Disaster?

Goals

Students critically analyze newspaper articles for their coverage of U.S. and foreign disasters in order to assess how various notions about the value of life are portrayed.

Skills

- ✔ media screening (searching historical or following current coverage)
- ✔ critical assessment of news content
- ✔ comparison and interpretation of news
- ✔ creative writing
- ✔ oral or written presentation and discussion

Material Requirements

- Newspaper and journal articles on a U.S. disaster and a disaster in another region of the world (e.g., Hurricane Andrew vs. an earthquake in Iran, or Three Mile Island vs. Chernobyl or the Sandoz fire in Basel, Switzerland). Choosing a current example would have the advantage of being able to include TV coverage. Access to the *New York Times Index* would make the search for materials easier.

Time Requirements

Part A: one week outside of class
Part B: 3-5 days outside of class

Tasks

Part A:
Students choose a U.S. and a foreign disaster (natural or human-induced) and look for newspaper articles of the events. Since media coverage usually drops off dramatically a few days after the event, students should go through several local and national daily newspapers and possibly some weekly journals (like *Newsweek* or *Time*). The purpose is to find as many articles on the events as possible and then compare and contrast how the events were presented -- factually, in tone, in extent (length and number of articles), duration (days after the event), perceptions of the hazard, responses to it, and interpretations of the event (causes, blame, political and economic context of the disaster).

Students individually prepare a 1-2 page paper that addresses the following questions:

- Is there a difference in how the events were portrayed? What are the differences? How would you explain these?
- Are the media just disaster-hungry or are they genuinely concerned with people's well-being?
- Are they biased toward events that cause more deaths, cause more damage, happen closer to home, or are dramatic in some other way?
- How do you explain such bias if you think it is there? And do you think the media correctly reflect what people are interested in?
- Do you think the bias in reporting has anything to do with the "value of life" -- i.e., that some people "count more" than others? If you think so, give some supporting evidence.

Part B:
Individually or in small groups, students write two scripts for a TV report or two articles for a newspaper on the international or foreign disaster considered in Part A. The first report would be a "typical" (i.e., rather biased) report, highlighting the problem for the First World country while neglecting or downplaying that of the Third World nation; the second report would be more evenhanded, contextualizing the problem and thus giving more justice to the degree of seriousness for both countries.

Another option for this activity is to take the Wysham (1995) article on "Costing People's Lives for Climate Change" and to turn its message into a distorted cost/benefit report with a pro-Fankhauser slant (designed for the evening news) and a second version that conveys a more even-handed approach to climate abatement policy. Other ideas include a portrayal of the causes of water pollution, the social and ecological consequences of deforestation, or an accident in a chemical plant.

The point of the activity is not to produce a lengthy script but to establish the idea of the "value of life" and how it plays out in our slanted perspectives -- consciously or not -- on daily life and world affairs.

Additional Questions for Discussion

If you choose to focus on the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, the following questions are suggested as in-class discussion topics. Feel free to adjust the questions to match the topics you discussed earlier with the class. See *Notes on Active Pedagogy* for suggestions on leading a class discussion.

- Do you think Bhopal had anything to do with the Green Revolution? If so, what? (Draw a diagram to illustrate the relationships you think exist)
- Can Bhopal be viewed as a local community victim? Why? Why not?
- Has this tragedy been so readily forgotten because it represents a failure of the predominant international economic system? How so?

Discuss Bhopal (or another disaster in the Third World) in relationship to the 1995 bombing of Oklahoma City.

- Were the lives of the U.S. citizens more valuable than those of the citizens of India?
- If not, how do you explain the difference in media coverage?

More generally, consider the risks and benefits involved in development projects for both people and the environment.

- Can development projects be environmentally sound?
- Should they be organized exclusively by local communities?
- Are small-scale projects better in principle?
- Are local communities the protectors of the environment and nation-states the foes?

Activity 3.8 Getting Involved

Goals
Students get involved in community volunteer work as a way to make connections between the community, democracy, and processes of globalization.

Skills
✔ participatory observation
✔ emergency intervention skills (dependent on service project)

Material Requirements
none

Time Requirements
variable

Tasks
Encourage students to get involved in some form of community work. This can be an internship for course credit or voluntary service with its benefit of hands-on experience. To stay with the theme of disasters, there are usually a number of options -- the Red Cross offers emergency training for volunteers (and might be a good starting place to find out about other organizations that need volunteers); a community's Rape Crisis Center often needs volunteers, etc.

Students clearly cannot be compelled to participate in emergency assistance, but the benefits of practical experience of such volunteer service are obvious and mutual for the community and the student. If you suggests such involvement, you should be ready to debrief students, especially in the beginning of their commitment. With due sensitivity to students' experiences, such debriefing times could be used to make the connection between the individual experiences and the larger topics of the course including community -- local and beyond -- democracy, the driving forces behind globalization, etc.

Activity 3.9 Response Paper

Goals
Students write a short essay in which they synthesize the readings, discussions, and activities associated with this unit.

Skills
✔ text comprehension and reflection

✔ organizing a sequence of arguments
✔ writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 3.9* (provided)
- Suggested Readings: Stavrianos (1981), Dak (1989), Barber (1992), Huke (1985), Gupta (1991), Morse and Berger (1992), Thukral and Sakate (1992), and Wysham (1995).

Time Requirements

3-4 days outside of class

Tasks

As a written homework assignment, after some class discussion or other activities, students write a relatively short (3-5 pages long) reflective paper on the following topic:

> *Discuss the tensions between the advantages and the disadvantages of a global, free market economy in light of the impacts that a global economy has on regional and local communities. How might these tensions be lessened?*

3 Local Communities and Global Processes

Student Worksheet 3.4

Activity 3.4 The Daily Water Log

Below is a list of examples of where we use or deal with water in our daily lives. On the next page, you will find some suggestions on how to keep track of your own daily water consumption. Use, but do not feel limited to, these suggestions in recording your daily water usage.

PERSONAL HYGIENE
washing your face and hands
brushing your teeth
taking a shower/bath
flushing the toilet

FOOD AND DRINKS
boiling an egg
making coffee or tea
cooking lunch and supper
drinking water-based liquids (juices, sodas, alcohol, tea, coffee)

DAILY/OCCASIONAL CHORES
washing dishes (by hand or in dish washer)
doing laundry
washing the car
watering house or garden plants
mopping the floor etc.
cleaning windows

WATER-BASED ACTIVITIES
swimming in pool, lake or ocean
sailing, surfing, diving
fishing
hiking along a river or lake
painting with water colors

"HIDDEN" WATER USAGE
water for pets (bird bath, aquarium, drinking water for house pets)
the 'automatic' glass of water in a restaurant
a dripping faucet
ice cubes in a drink

How to keep track of your water use

1. ☺ *Become aware of your water use*! If you think you will forget about it (and most of us do because water use is so automatic), put little notes as reminders in strategic places (the fridge door, the coffee maker, the bathroom mirror, the toilet, the faucets...).

2. ✎ *For one day, have a little note pad and a pencil with you at all times. Do the inconvenient thing: measure every bit*! If you drink a glass of water, note that including the size of the glass. If you brush your teeth, put a bowl under the faucet to catch the water you use; measure the contents of the bowl with the measuring cup after you're finished. If you put ice cubes in your drink, put the same number of ice cubes in a cup, let them melt, and measure how much water they were made up of. And so on.

3. ✍ *Do that with everything -- or estimate the amount if you can't measure it* (to do so, you may want to look at what 1 gallon looks like).

4. +/∗/= *At the end of the day, add up every drop* (by number of glasses or gallons or liters -- whatever worked for you). Hint: 1 cup holds 8 fluid ounces, 1 tall glass holds about 16 fl. oz. (or .24 liter and .48 liter, respectively). There are about 4.2 cups in 1 liter and 16 cups in 1 gallon.

5. You may want to split your "daily water log" by types of activities to get a sense of your water usage by category. Were you surprised by anything? Do you think you would want to or can save water anywhere? Where? How much? What did you learn today?

Student Worksheet 3.5

Activity 3.5 What if...? Is Your Community Ready for Disaster?

In this activity, you will explore how well your community is prepared for disaster. By considering your community's emergency plans, you will (1) get a sense of how decisions about responding to disasters (or even the effects of global change) are made at the local level in a democracy, and (2) become aware of the values and assumptions that are implicit in your community's preparation.

You have been hired as a consultant by the city council to assess the community's state of emergency preparedness. The city council has told you that their main concern is people's safety (from injury or death). Their second most important concern is the maintenance of services in the community (to provide emergency assistance, to preserve a sense of community, to recover as quickly as possible, etc.). The council has requested a short (2-3 page) report of your findings.

Your task is to conduct a thorough assessment of the city's level of emergency preparedness. You will need to acquire emergency plans from various agencies in the local community. In some cases, you may need to request time for an interview, in person or via telephone, with representatives from local agencies. Consider the following questions as you review the emergency plans:

- What disasters is the city prepared for?
- Are the city's plans comprehensive and exhaustive?
- To what extent do the city's plans identify potential disaster sources from *outside* the local community?
- Do the city's plans consider how *all* members of the local community will be affected by a disaster? If not, who or what is left out and why?

After you have gathered all your information, spend some time planning how best to present your findings to the council. In the report to the council, you may also want to include maps and existing plans, a realistic disaster scenario, or recommendations based on historical findings of past emergencies. Can you suggest ways that the emergency plans can be improved?

Student Worksheet 3.7

In this activity, you will analyze newspaper articles for their coverage of U.S. and foreign disasters in order to assess how notions about the value of life are portrayed.

Begin by choosing a U.S. and a foreign disaster (natural or human-induced) and looking for newspaper articles of the events. Since media coverage usually drops off dramatically a few days after the event, go through several local and national daily newspapers and possibly some weekly journals (like *Newsweek* or *Time*). The purpose is to find as many articles on the events as possible and then to compare and contrast how the events were presented -- factually, in tone, in extent (length and number of articles), duration (days after the event), perceptions of the hazard, responses to it, and interpretations of the event (causes, blame, political and economic context of the disaster). Use the articles to prepare a 1-2 page paper that addresses the following questions:

- Is there a difference in how the events were portrayed? What are the differences? How would you explain these?
- Are the media just disaster-hungry or are they genuinely concerned with people's well-being?
- Are they biased toward events that cause more deaths, cause more damage, happen closer to home, or are dramatic in some other way?
- How do you explain such bias if you think it is there? And do you think the media correctly reflect what people are interested in?
- Do you think the bias in reporting has anything to do with the "value of life" -- i.e., that some people "count more" than others? If you think so, give some supporting evidence.

Part B:
Next you will write two scripts for a TV report or two articles for a newspaper on the foreign disaster you considered in Part A. The first report should be a "typical" (i.e., rather biased) report, highlighting the problem for the First World country while neglecting or downplaying that of the Third World nation; the second report should be more evenhanded, contextualizing the problem and thus giving more justice to the degree of seriousness for both countries. The point of the activity is not to produce a lengthy script but to explore the idea of the "value of life" and how it plays out in slanted perspectives -- consciously or not -- on daily life and world affairs.

Student Worksheet 3.9

Activity 3.9 Response Paper

Based upon the readings suggested by your instructor, class discussion, and other activities, write a short (3-5 page, double-spaced), reflective paper on the following topic:

> *Discuss the tensions between the advantages and the disadvantages of a global, free market economy in light of the impacts that a global economy has on regional and local communities. How might these tensions be lessened?*

3 Local Communities and Global Processes

Answers to Activities

Activity 3.1 Green Revolution Game

Because this activity is a role-playing game, there are no specific answers to it. It is helpful to play the game several times with slight variations in order to highlight the differences among scenarios. Follow up each round with a discussion using the questions provided in the Instructor's Guide for this activity.

Activity 3.2 Inequity and Poverty in Bangladesh

Because this activity is a role-playing game, there are no specific answers to it. You should be able to assess from the discussions and the short presentations how well students have prepared for the class and whether they read the background materials you provided.

Activity 3.3 Technological Change = Social and Environmental Change

Students projects will vary depending upon the activity they choose to examine and upon the format they use to present their work. You can either assign the format of the presentations or allow students to be creative and decide for themselves. If you choose a poster session or exhibit, invite faculty and other students to the event. Regardless of the format used, student projects should contain:

- a variety of qualitative data sources, including interviews, photographs, and other publications
- a variety of quantitative data sources, including data from the census and from local organizations
- effective visuals and/or text such as graphs, photographs, drawings, interview excerpts, and written summaries

Activity 3.4 Development (f)or Water?! and the Daily Water Log

Part A

In this part of the activity, students should provide a comprehensive assessment of water resources in the community and related concerns. Students have the option of presenting a slide show, writing a film script, or creating a water conservation education brochure. Student presentations should address the following questions:

- What are the water needs of the community?
- Is there a water surplus or shortage?
- Who are the big "water suckers" (certain industries, agriculture, households -- proportional shares)?
- From where does the community/region obtain its water (groundwater, reservoir, import, etc.)?
- What is the quality of that water? Does it need to be cleaned before usage?
- Where does the waste water go? Is there a water treatment plant (capacity, cost of operation, level of treatment)?

Part B:

In this part of the activity, students keep track of their water usage for a normal day. Students should prepare a short paper that lists their activities and the amount of water they consumed. Alternatively, students can prepare tables, charts, or graphs that illustrate the same information. Make sure that students have included most of the routine uses of water and that they have not left out any "hidden" consumptive uses.

Activity 3.5 What if...? Is Your Community Ready for Disaster?

Students should prepare a comprehensive assessment of the city's emergency preparedness. Their reports should rely on a variety of sources but must evaluate any existing city-wide emergency plans. A good project will include interviews with local authorities, maps, existing plans, a disaster scenario, and/or recommendations on how to implement or improve emergency services. Student projects should also address the questions presented on the Student Worksheet. For additional suggestions on evaluating students' work, see *Notes on Active Pedagogy*.

Activity 3.6 Think the Unthinkable!

This is primarily an activity to encourage a lively class discussion. During the discussion, assess whether students have been realistic about their disaster scenarios and whether they have adequately identified the first and higher order impacts.

Activity 3.7 The Media -- Living by Disaster?

In the first portion of this activity, students prepare a short (1-2 page) paper that addresses the questions in the Instructor's Guide for this activity. Students should try to find as many articles as possible to enrich their comparisons.

In the second portion of the activity, students write a two scripts for a TV report -- one that is heavily slanted toward First world concerns and one that is more balanced. Students' scripts will vary depending upon the disaster they choose to research. Be certain that both scripts are realistic, demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the event, and are not too extreme in their attempt to characterize the perspectives.

Activity 3.9 Response Paper

Use the following criteria to assess students' papers:

- Does it answer all aspects of the question as posed?
- Does it demonstrate a thorough understanding of the concepts covered in the suggested readings and throughout the module?
- Is it concise and well-written?
- Does it present a balanced account of perspectives?
- Does it discuss the tensions between the two perspectives of the global, free market economy and how they might be lessened?

For additional suggestions on evaluating students' writing, see *Notes on Active Pedagogy*.

4 Our Common Global Future(s)

Background Information

Will the global economy homogenize the world in the next century? Will the world become more western or more eastern? How can we become global citizens? What might be an alternative to the economy as a basis for a global partnership? Would you suggest international standards for environmental consumption and human rights? In this unit, you will consider these questions as you look to the future of the global community and envision possible and probable futures. You will consider the United States as part of a global partnership that is threatened by environmental degradation, disease, and deteriorating social conditions. The readings associated with this unit are summarized briefly below:

Kaplan, Robert: "The Coming Anarchy: Nations Break Up Under the Tidal Flow of Refugees from Environmental and Social Disaster"
This piece previews the first few decades of the 21st century. Even though our borders may be crumbling via free trade, another type of boundary has been erected, "a wall of disease." Wars are fought over scarce resources, especially water, and war itself becomes continuous with crime, as armed bands of stateless marauders clash with the private security forces of the elites.

French, Hilary, F.: "Forging a New Global Partnership"
French argues that global partnerships are floundering because of a failure of political will; we need to examine the complex interconnections among population growth, deteriorating social conditions, gender inequity, environmental degradation, and a range of other issues. A sustainable future cannot be secured without an aggressive effort to combat poverty and meet basic social needs for all the citizens of the world.

4 Our Common Global Future(s)

Instructor's Guide to Activities

Goals

The goal of this last unit of activities is to consider alternatives to the homogenization of the world exclusively through technology and the market.

Learning Outcomes

Students are encouraged to:

- envision futures by extending ongoing trends and to think of "alternative futures";
- acknowledge assumptions and biases behind these visions of the future; and
- discuss implications of these possible futures for other people and area around the world.

Choice of Activities

It is neither necessary nor feasible in most cases to complete all activities in each unit. Select those that are most appropriate for your classroom setting and that cover a range of activity types, skills, genres of reading materials, writing assignments, and other activity outcomes. This unit contains the following activities:

4.1 Back to the Future	-- Envisioning possible futures
4.2 Visions of Our Environmental Futures	-- Analysis of representations of future world(s) in film
4.3 Debate of Visionaries	-- Role playing and debate
4.4 Debate of Scales Representatives	-- Role playing and debate
4.5 Our Common Global Future(s)?	-- Text comprehension and synthesis, essay writing

Suggested Readings

The following readings accompany the activities for this unit. Choose those readings most appropriate for the activities you select and those most adequate for the skill level of your students.

- Background Information to Unit 4 (all students should read)
- French, H. 1995. Forging a new global partnership. In S. Schmidt, ed. *The state of the world*. London: Earthscan, pp. 170-189.

  If this reading has not already been assigned (see Unit 3), this is another good occasion. French reflects on the role of multinational corporations in bringing about a global community.

- Gaudiani, Claire L. 1995. Global social development: Higher education's next moral commitment. *Educational Record* 76(1): 7-13.

  This article touches on several of the themes of this module, including global human rights, a global constitution, what unites and what separates us in a global community, and the role of education in the forming of such a community. Stimulating reading!
- Kaplan, R. 1994. The coming anarchy. *The Atlantic Monthly* (February): 44-76.

  A provocative article, if a bit long. While the class might be divided over how realistic his future vision is, Kaplan stimulates thinking about the environmental basis of social conflict.
- Kaslow, A. and G. Moffett. 1995. Refugees without a refuge: US starts to pull up drawbridge. *The Christian Science Monitor* (March 1): 1 and 10-11.

  A critical look at the situation of current asylum seekers in the U.S. An interesting topical companion article to Kaplan's vision of the future. Easy read, journalistic style.
- Strauss, W. 1991. *Generations: The history of America's future (1584-2069)*. New York, NY: Quill.

  An interesting way of looking at the past and toward the future -- time passing as a sequence of generational cycles. Makes for interesting class discussions and may be one way to stimulate the envisioning of possible futures. Take just an excerpt!
- Strieber, W. And J. Kunetka. 1986. *Nature's end*. New York, NY: Warner Books.

  If you'd like to extend the range of readings used in this class, use this science-fiction novel. The subtitle is a good hint: "The consequences of the twentieth century."

Excerpts of science fiction novels (e.g., *Nature's end*) are also recommended as "lighter" reading capable of provoking interesting discussions and final papers.

Finally, you or your students could contact the *World Future Society*[5] in Washington, DC and request a list of its publications as an additional source of interesting texts. Students may also -- as one possible activity -- find out what the World Future Society's mission is and who is involved in it.

Activity 4.1 Back to the Future

Goals

Students envision a future world and discuss what will have to happen in order to realize such a future.

Skills

✔ creative brainstorming

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[5]The World Future Society, 7910 Woodmont Ave., Suite 450, Bethesda, MD 20814. Phone: 1-800-989-8274; World Wide Web site: http//www.tmn.com/wfs/.

✔ critical thinking
✔ identifying and acknowledging assumptions
✔ communicating

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 4.1* (provided)

Time Requirements

One class period (50 minutes)

Tasks

In this activity, students "dream up" a future, either in groups or individually, after they have had some time to think and take brief notes. As the discussion leader, do not place any restrictions on students' visions at this point. Allow students to think freely and to create options of a future.

Subsequently, begin a class discussion of students' visions. In the discussion, students will have to demonstrate that they are using concepts previously established and discussed in the course. In addition, they will have to make their assumptions explicit by answering the questions below:

- How do we get there from here?
- What will have to have happened by next year, in three years, by 2005, by 2020, by 2050 in order for the world to change toward the kind of world you have envisioned the future?

The question can be adapted to be a vision for their block, their neighborhood, their town, or the U.S. (should the nation as an entity be a part of their future vision).

Alternatively, this activity can be changed to begin at some historical date, say, 1900 or 1945, and to ask students to put themselves into the shoes of Americans at that time.

- What were people's dreams at that time?
- Could they have imagined x, y, or z to happen in 1950, 1970, 1995?
- In your opinion, what were the significant events and processes between 1900 (1945) and now that brought us to where we are today?
- So what do you believe will be the major hinges on which to rest the doors to the future? What are the most significant processes that create our future?
- What were the surprising (unpredictable, at the time unexpected) events between 1900 (1945) and now? Imagine some future surprises!

Allow sufficient time for this class discussion. The task is not easy, but there are no correct answers to the above questions, only creative and more or less thoughtful ones, and the class could be very stimulating to students, lasting beyond the hour.

Activity 4.2 Visions of Our Environmental Future

Goals
Students become aware of how images of the future in film, books, news reports, and other media affect their own visions of the future.

Skills
✔ film comprehension
✔ interpretation of information
✔ critical discussion of movie

Material Requirements
- A film such as *Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome*, *Waterworld*, *Dune*, *2010*, *Soylent Green*, or others of this genre.

Time Requirements
One class period (50 minutes)

Tasks
Choose a film that depicts the world sometime in the future and select a 10-15 minute clip from the film that illustrates this future well. If time permits, you can show multiple clips from different movies or even show one entire film. Students then break into groups of 2 or 3 and answer and discuss the questions on the Student Worksheet. All of the films suggested above should be available at a local movie rental store or through interlibrary loan.

Activity 4.3 Debate of Visionaries

Goals
Students represent various members of the global community and debate their visions for the future. Students learn about various perspectives on the future and how to reach a compromise in situations of diverse opinions.

Skills
✔ identification with a chosen role
✔ application of abstract concepts to a concrete local problem
✔ participation in group or panel discussion (arguing, leading, note-taking, process evaluating)
✔ text comprehension

Material Requirements

- Suggested readings; select a few from: French (1995), Gaudiani (1995), Kaplan (1994), Kaslow and Moffett (1995), Strauss (1986), and Strieber and Kunetka (1986).
- Excerpts of science fiction novels (e.g., *Nature's end*) are also recommended as "lighter" reading capable of provoking interesting discussions.

Time Requirements

One class period (50 minutes) assuming students have read the suggested readings prior to class

Tasks

Students choose to represent one of the constituents of the global community -- any of the parties discussed throughout this module (a local resident, a national leader, a manager of a multinational corporation, a representative of a non-governmental organization (NGO, environmental or other), a civil rights fighter, a city mayor, etc.). You may want to include *silent* representatives of future generations or of the environment for demonstrative purposes. If the class is small, have each student take one role and give students some time to sketch out their visions of the future. If the class is larger, split it in groups with each group representing one role. Give them a few minutes to discuss a common role-specific vision they wish to put forth.

Next, representatives from each group get together to debate their visions for the future. Allow about 20 minutes for that discussion. Alternatively, instigate a panel discussion with representatives of each constituency. For either format, assign individual students to the roles of panel/discussion leader, reporter (taking notes of main arguments and the course of the debate), and process observer (making sure that each panelist/representative gets an adequate amount of time to speak). The instructor functions as an external observer, facilitating only when necessary, and encouraging students to look for commonalities, room for compromise, and concrete ways of realizing a possible compromise vision of the future. A short summary and debriefing at the end of the session with the entire class is useful for gathering the major findings and highlighting points of contention and convergence.

Activity 4.4 Debate of Scales Representatives

Goals

Students represent various people from different scales of the global community (i.e., global, national, regional, city, community, neighborhood). Students learn about various perspectives on the future and how geographic scale affects these perspectives.

Skills

✔ identification with a chosen role
✔ application of abstract concepts to a concrete local problem
✔ participation in group or panel discussion (arguing, leading, note taking, process evaluating)
✔ text comprehension

Material Requirements

- Suggested readings; select a few from: French (1995), Gaudiani (1995), Kaplan (1994), Kaslow and Moffett (1995), Strauss (1986), and Strieber and Kunetka (1986).

Time Requirements

One class period (50 minutes) assuming students have read the suggested readings prior to class

Tasks

This activity is a variation on Activity 4.3 but this time the debate takes place not with representatives of different constituents, but with representatives of different scales (which will make a difference for the types of perspectives and arguments brought forth in the discussion).

Students choose to represent one of the scales discussed in this module: the city block, the neighborhood, the city, the region, the nation, a supranational entity, or the global community. If the class is small, have each student take one role and allow him/her to sketch his or her vision of the future at that scale. If the class is larger, split it in groups with each group representing one scale. Give them a few minutes to discuss a common scale-specific vision they wish to put forth.

Next, representatives from each scale meet to debate their visions for the future. Allow about 20 minutes for that discussion. Alternatively, instigate a panel discussion with representatives of each constituency. For either format, assign individual students to the roles of panel/discussion leader, reporter (taking notes of main arguments and the course of the debate), and process observer (making sure that each panelist/representative gets an adequate amount of time to speak). The instructor functions as an external observer, facilitating only when necessary, and encouraging students to look for commonalities, room for compromise, and concrete ways of how to realize a possible compromise vision of the future.

A short summary and debriefing at the end of the session with the entire class is useful for gathering the major findings and highlighting points of contention and convergence.

Activity 4.5 Our Common Global Future(s)?

Goals

Students write a short essay in which they synthesize the readings, discussions, and activities associated with this unit.

Skills

✔ text comprehension and reflection
✔ organizing a sequence of arguments
✔ writing

Material Requirements

- *Student Worksheet 4.5* (provided)
- Suggested readings: French (1995), Gaudiani (1995), Kaplan (1994), Kaslow and Moffett (1995), Strauss (1986), and Strieber and Kunetka (1986).

Time Requirements

2 weeks outside of class

Tasks

As a written homework assignment, after some class discussion or other activities, students write a concluding deliberative essay (5-10 pages, double-spaced) on one of the following topics:

(1) As the global economy spreads, will the world necessarily homogenize (westernize)? What alternatives are available to communities to sustain themselves in the face of globalization? In addition to drawing from examples on local communities discussed in the previous units, you may use other examples of which you are aware.

(2) Use a futures text of your choice (science fiction story, scientific projections, one of the suggested readings, etc.) and critically discuss that vision of the future. Envision a community of your choice (local, national, or global) in 50 to 100 years and assess the implications of this fictional or scientific projection for that community.

4 Our Common Global Future(s)

Student Worksheet 4.1

Activity 4.1 Back to the Future

In this activity, you will consider what you believe the future of the world will be like.

1. Take a few moments to write down some words and phrases that describe what it would be like to be alive 100 years from now.

2. When you think about the future, are you thinking about your neighborhood, your town, the nation, or the world?

3. What will have to happen by next year, in three years, by 2005, by 2020, by 2050 in order for the world to change toward the kind of world you have envisioned the future?

4. What do you believe will be the major hinges on which to rest the doors to the future? What are the most significant processes that create our future?

5. Can you imagine some of the surprises that the future might hold?

Student Worksheet 4.2

Activity 4.2 Visions of Our Environmental Future

Many of us have a vision of what the world will be like in the future. These visions may be shaped by the books we read, the films we see, news reports we hear, or a variety of other factors. Films like *Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome*, *Waterworld*, *Dune*, *2010*, or *Soylent Green*, among others, all present visions of our world in the future and quite often, these visions are less than positive.

In this activity, you will consider your vision of the world's environmental future and the ways in which that vision has been created. Your instructor will show you a short clip from a recent film or video. After you watch the clip, you will break up into groups of 2 or 3 and discuss the questions below.

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1. Do you have a vision of what the world will be like, environmentally, in the year 2050? If so, describe it. Is it a picture? Is it in words? Is it a general impression or a feeling of foreboding?

2. Where does your vision come from (newspapers, scientific journals, books, films)? How does your own general optimism or pessimism (or beliefs) filter your vision of the future? In other words, if someone were to tell you that the future will be excellent, would you believe them?

3. Are you able to "envision" something else? Can you envision a positive future, if you currently have a negative perspective? Why might a positive vision be important to us as we confront global environmental changes?

Student Worksheet 4.5

Activity 4.5 Our Common Global Future(s)?

As a written homework assignment, write a deliberative essay (5-10 pages long) on one of the topics listed below. You might want to review many of the readings you have looked at throughout the module, as well as your notes from class discussions and class activities.

(1) As the global economy spreads, will the world necessarily homogenize (westernize)? What alternatives are available to communities to sustain themselves in the face of globalization? In addition to drawing from examples on local communities discussed in the previous units, you may use other examples of which you are aware.

(2) Use a futures text of your choice (science fiction story, scientific projections, one of the suggested readings, etc.) and critically discuss that vision of the future. Envision a community of your choice (local, national, or global) in 50 to 100 years and assess the implications of this fictional or scientific projection for that community.

4 Our Common Global Future(s)

Answers to Activities

Activity 4.1 Back to the Future

Student responses to the questions on the Student Worksheet will vary depending on the individual. The questions are intended to make students imagine a future world and the changes that need to happen to make that world a reality. Students should be allowed a lot of room for creativity, and for this reason, we'd suggest that their answers not be "graded" in a traditional sense. Use their responses instead as a way to begin a lively class discussion.

Activity 4.2 Visions of Our Environmental Future

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions on the Student Worksheet. After the film clip when students get into their groups to discuss the questions, walk around the room and make sure that the conversations are on track and that all group members are participating. The first question makes students aware of how they themselves and how others imagine the future. The second question is intended to make students aware of how their own personal values and beliefs can affect this vision. The third question is intended to encourage students to envision a positive future and to consider why having a positive vision may be necessary to help confront the challenges of global environmental change.

Activity 4.3 Debate of Visionaries

Because this activity is a role play, there are no right or wrong answers. The content of the debates should allow you to assess whether students have prepared for the class and whether they have read the suggested readings. You should insure that the debates run smoothly and that all students take part, both in the debate and in the duties associated with it (i.e., leader, reporter, or note-taker).

Activity 4.4 Debate of Scales Representatives

Because this activity is a role play, there are no right or wrong answers. The content of the debates should allow you to assess whether students have prepared for the class and whether they have read the suggested readings. You should insure that the debates run smoothly and that all students take part, both in the debate and in the duties associated with it (i.e., leader, reporter, or note-taker). Students may need some assistance in understanding how their "scale" will affect their perspective on the future.

Activity 4.5 Our Common Global Future(s)?

Use the following criteria to assess students' papers:

- Does it answer all aspects of the question as posed?
- Does it demonstrate a thorough understanding of the concepts covered in the suggested readings and throughout the module?
- Is it concise and well-written?
- Does it present a balanced account of perspectives?
- Does it include additional research and sources not used in the module?

For additional suggestions on evaluating student writing, see *Notes on Active Pedagogy*.

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Supporting Materials

The materials in this section support the background information and the student activities. Each *Supporting Material* is numbered according to the section or activity in which it may be used. For example, *Supporting Material 1.1* accompanies *Activity 1.1*.

Taking notes that make sense -- even a year from now ...

As you work through the reading assignments for this and the following exercises, do not just read the articles, or just underline important passages. For understanding and remembering the arguments it is even more important to take notes on what you read. Taking concise yet comprehensive notes is a big step in preparing for classes and exams and to recall something you read or heard about.

If you are experienced in taking good notes, proceed to do so as you read your assigned materials. If you feel you could use some guidance in how to improve on this skill, follow the steps outlined below.

Articles that are written well have at least:

- ❑ a descriptive and/or provocative **title**,
- ❑ a compelling or at least an internally consistent **argument**,
- ❑ an apparent, intuitively logical, and hierarchical **structure** (look for subtitles),
- ❑ an obvious **paragraph separation and sequence**, and
- ❑ a clear, understandable **language** (including correct grammar and spelling, clear sentences, explanation for new or unusual terms, avoidance of unnecessary jargon and verbiage, etc.)

1 Gather the most obvious clues!

Browse through the article and note on a piece of paper its structure by writing down the title and all the subtitles of individual sections in the sequence in which they appear in the text. Indent all the subtitles that belong to the same logical section (to the same level in the hierarchy of importance) by the same amount so you know they are of similar importance and logically belong together. If there are no subtitles, you need to look at the text a bit more closely: is there a sequence of themes that the author(s) go through in the course of the text? If you can discern them, list them in the sequence in which they appear. (You may also group them later into logical classes if you can make out any.)

Example:

Everybody's Favorite Monsters: Multinationals
- Back in Fashion
  - Big, but not that big
  - Sovereignty as sideshow
  - A village, but now global?
- Creatures of Imperfection
  - Wanted: failures
  - Have imperfection, will travel
- The non-global firm
  - Multinationalism begins at home
  - Make mine multiregional?
  - Think global, then think again

Holding Hands
- Global ambition, parochial ability
- A fad?

A Global Game of Monopoly?
- Subsidiary for trustbusters

On Present Trends
- Spot the next barriers to fall
- The danger of excessive expectations
- The danger of the long American view
- Think global. Now be serious

2 Put your mind's antennae out!

Words in titles and subtitles, together with the logic behind the text's structure that becomes apparent when you take a little time to look over the outline just listed, tell you what to get your mind ready for. They are also the first hint as to what the author's main argument in the text is. These hints in effect are signals to your brain to activate all the pertinent knowledge you already have about a certain subject. The more conscious you become of these clues, the easier it will be for you to actually take in what someone writes. So looking back at the above example, what do you expect the text to be about? (Note that in this exercise we just make conscious, and more thoroughly so, what your brain does automatically whenever you get new information!).

3 Read the text (again)!

If you have not read the article yet, do so now. Stop once in a while and recall what you thought the text would be about. Are your expectations met? (If they are not, you will probably be quite frustrated and most likely bored!)

4 Note the main argument!

Having had an expectation of the text and an actual read or two through it, what would you say is the main argument of the text? In other words: how would you describe to a friend what the gist of the article is?

5 Concisely list the supporting arguments under each heading (or subtitle)!

Every argument needs supporting arguments, data, and other evidence to be convincing. As you go once more through the text -- paragraph by paragraph -- list in keyword style or short sentences what the author(s) have to offer for supporting evidence an arguments. If you can't decide what is important and what is not (and thus should be omitted from this listing), ask yourself whether you found it important to know or mention this particular item to understand the logic behind the argument. If not, leave it out! You are most likely to forget everything that is not essential to the argument anyway.

6 Check whether it makes sense!

Once you're through with Steps 1-5, look over your notes once again and see whether they make sense. (The best test is really three days after taking the notes, i.e., when you're already somewhat removed from having read the article. If they still make good sense, you took good notes!) If you feel as if you lost the thread of the argument somewhere, then fill in the blanks. Also compare the length of your notes with the length of the article: if your notes are as long as the original article, you simply paraphrased the text. By definition notes are short and never as prosaic as an essay.

Democracy and Equality

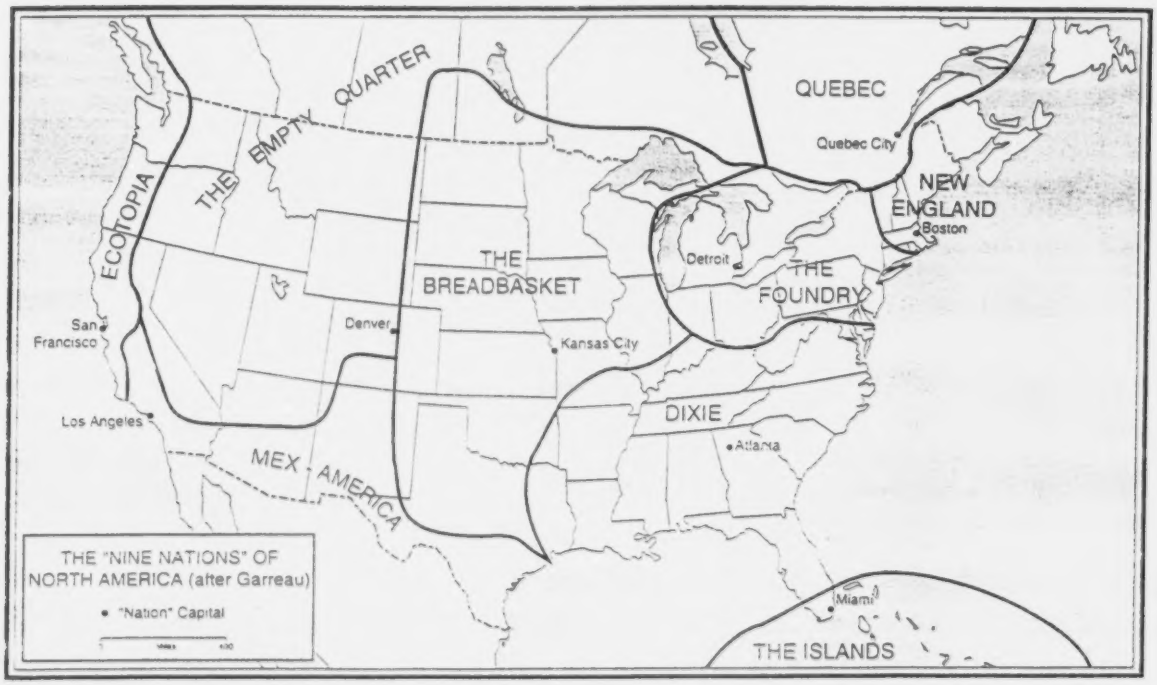
Democracy ... not only tolerates inequality, it fairly revels in it.

Mueller (1992: 989)

A store clerk has the same weight in an election as the head of a big corporation or a columnist for the *Washington Post*, but it would be absurd to suggest they are remotely equal in their ability to affect and influence government policy.

Mueller (1992: 988)

The Nine Nations of North America



Source: DeBlij, H. And Muller, P. 1995. *Geography: Regions and concepts.* Reprinted with the permission of John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

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The Green Revolution Game[6]

Basic Scenario

Assume the class to be a village in rural India. Divide the class into four groups as follows (for small classes, round off the percentages):

A - 10 % of class: large farmers; 75% have access to GRP (see below); all require 2 laborers
B - 20 % of class: medium-sized farmers; 50 % have access to GRP and require 1 laborer each
C - 40 % of class: small farmers; 25% have access to GRP
D - 30% of class; landless laborers

GRP = Green Revolution Package: high yield varieties of seed, fertilizers, pesticides, and wells for irrigation

Laborers must sell their labor for food or else they will starve.
Those farmers without access to GRPs grow traditional grains and have no other inputs.

Allow 5-10 minutes for groups to gather, identify with their roles, and for the landless to find work. The instructor then announces what kind of year this is: good, drought *or* pest, or drought *and* pest. The crop yield for that year for each category of farmers is then determined according to the table below.

Farmer/Resources	Good Year	Drought or Pest	Drought and Pest
A -- GRP	+	+	0
-- Traditional	+	0	-
B -- GRP	+	+	0
-- Traditional	0	-	-
C -- GRP	0	0	0
-- Traditional	0	-	-

+ : surplus; laborers and farmers are fed
0 : sufficient grain to feed farmers and their families but not the laborers, and to sow grain next year
- : deficit; must buy, borrow, beg, steal food and seed grain for next year

Elaborated Scenarios

Run variations of the basic scenario for consecutive years:

a) For the first year assume that no one has GRPs, but the social division in the village is the same. Have a good year, then a bad year. Discuss who has survived and what remedies might be implemented to overcome bad year crises.

b) Then run the basic scenario (where some farmers have GRPs) for consecutive years, introducing one of the alternative options listed below after each year:

I -- if a farmer is in a deficit one year, he could become a landless laborer next year
ii -- if three small farmers (group C) decide to form a cooperative, they can be treated as a medium farmer with access to GRP

After each year, discuss who has benefited and why. What would be necessary remedies?

Note that this game assumes that if a farmer has access to any new technology, he has the entire GRP. This is not necessarily so in reality. Lack of water, or fertilizer or pesticides not applied in the correct way can in fact lead to *lower* yields than traditional varieties.

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[6]The *Green Revolution Game* is adapted from Slater, Frances. 1986. *People and environments: Issues and enquiries*. Colins Educational: London, after the original by Chapman, Douler & Payne.

Role Statements of Group A

1. I am a landlord. I own 70 acres of land. I do not have to work on my own land. I hire laborers to grow rice on 20 acres. I rent the other 50 acres to poor farmers. Each farmer pays me half of his harvest as rent for using my land.

2. I am a rich farmer. I own 10 acres of land. I work on my own land, but I also need to hire some laborers to help me grow my crops. I also rent out a few acres to poor farmers who pay me half their harvest as rent.

3. I am a middle-income farmer. I own two acres of land, two cows, and some agricultural tools. I just have enough land to grow enough food for my own family. My wife and children have to work on the farm with me. Sometimes, for extra money, I also work for richer farmers or the landlords, but they don't pay very high wages.

4. I am a poor farmer. I own half an acre of land. I cannot grow enough food to feed my family so I either have to work as a laborer or I have to rent out some land from a rich farmer or a landlord. At harvest time, I pay them half of my harvest as rent. My older children work as laborers as well, so maybe we can get through this year.

5. I am a landless laborer. I own no land. I have no cows or agricultural tools, so I have to get work as a laborer. I earn about 40¢ a day.

Role Statements of Group B

1. I am a landlord. I live in a cement house. I own a motorcycle that cost me as much as 20 years' wages of one laborer. I have a large warehouse where I store my rice harvest. I only sell my rice when the price is high. I also own a small shop in town, where I can stay overnight in my second house. My shop is a pharmacy shop, but my most popular "medicine" is alcohol.

2. I am a poor farmer. I live in a home made of bamboo with my wife and my six children. My small piece of land does not grow enough food for all of us. Even though I also work for wages, still I cannot grow enough to feed my family properly. I have been sick for three weeks now. The doctor wants one hundred takas before he will cure me. I cannot afford to borrow more money, so I will have to sell a part of my land to buy the medicine.

3. I am a landless laborer. Once I had half an acre of land. Then two years of floods left me with no choice but to sell my land to repay the moneylender. It is difficult finding work, and the rich farmers or the landlords tell us: if you don't want to work for these wages, we can find lots of other workers who will.

4. I am the wife of a poor farmer. My five children are always hungry. We eat rice once a day with wild vegetables. We have to share 250g of rice among the eight of us, including my brother and sister-of-law. I often go without food to give more to my children. I chew on the betel nut to stop the pains of hunger in my stomach. I am afraid we shall have to chop down our only jack fruit tree to sell it as firewood, since my husband has been unable to find work this month.

Role Statements of Group C

1. I am a rich farmer. Because of the last three good harvests, I have been able to buy a shop in town selling cloth. Many poor farmers and landless workers also come to borrow from me. I lend money to them at high interest rates. Usually they pay me back by giving me half of their harvest.

2. I am a poor farmer. I lost my land to the moneylender, so I moved my family to this small island near the coast to squat on one acre of the land. Then the landlord and his men carrying big sticks came one day and threatened to beat me up if I did not work the land for him. So now I give him half of my harvest. But last month, the cyclone came and washed away most of the island. I lost my wife and two of our children. How can I feed the other ones now?

3. I am a landless laborer. My family lives in this hut without walls. We use palm leaves to keep out the wind. In the winter it is very cold for us. We have no money to buy more clothing. We sleep on straw on the mud floor and cover ourselves with sacks. My father used to own land, but he was careless and sold off one acre just for a wedding celebration. The rest of the land was swindled from him by moneylenders. I have been sick and weak from not enough food. Now the construction bosses will not hire me as they say I'm not strong enough to do the heavy work.

4. I am the widow of a landless laborer. My husband fell ill and we had no money to see the doctor. So he died. Allah says the rich should help the poor, but sometimes I wonder if it's Allah's will or is it the work of men? Nobody can help me feed my children, and I must try to find some more work or we will starve. The landlords pay us women so little, and I don't even have enough money to buy a new sari to replace this torn one, which is my only clothing.

Role Statements of Group D

1. I am a government politician. The big landlords and the rich farmers are my strongest supporters. They make sure I get the votes, and I help them get government loans and equipment. The poor people are uneducated and have no manners. They are poor because they have too many children and do not work hard enough.

2. I am a poor farmer. When I bring my jute harvest to the government warehouse, the manager gives all kinds of reasons why he can't buy my harvest. So we poor farmers have no choice but to sell our jute to the local merchants at 60 taka. The merchants then sell it to the warehouse at the official price of 90 taka and share their profits with the warehouse managers.

3. I am a poor farmer's wife. I have six children. My husband and I need a large family so that we have sons to look after us when we're old. Our children also earn extra income working in the fields. Now that I have enough children I'd like to stop having more. But government health workers don't like to visit poor villages. I hear that foreign countries have been giving free birth control pills, but we hardly get any from the government. And nobody teaches us how to use them properly.

4. I am a government bank manager. I approve low-interest loans to help farmers buy fertilizers and seeds. I prefer to lend to the rich farmers. They know how to fill in the forms and they have enough land as a security. They are always very friendly and take me out to lunch. The poor farmers can't be trusted. They can't even read the forms and waste my time. And if the harvest is bad, I can't get them to repay their loans.

5. I am a poor farmer's wife. My children often get sick from drinking the dirty water or not eating enough. I can't afford to take them to see the doctor and the government has very few health workers for us poor people. If I use our little money for medicine, then how will we eat?

Role Statements of Group E

1. I am a poor farmer. In 1974, when the price of rice increased five times, more than 100,000 people starved to death. Floods also destroyed harvests in some districts. But the merchants had lots of rice which they bought and kept in their warehouses so that they could make higher profits when the price went up again. The government was inefficient and did not distribute available food to the starving people. I had to borrow money from the moneylender just to keep my family alive. Many of my neighbors even had to sell off their land at very low prices. After the famine, many of us still cannot afford to buy rice, so we live on cooked jute leaves.

2. I am a landless laborer. There are more and more of us in the country as small farmers lose their land, but the number of jobs available has not increased. So our wages have gone down. Even the meal we get at work is less. Now we get only a pound of rice, with salt, a green chili, and maybe a spoon of dal. I have six mouths to feed. I earn two pounds of rice and one taka a day; but two pounds of rice can only feed two people per day. Yesterday I did not work, so I did not eat. Finally, I had to tear our four bamboo poles from my house and sell them to buy some flour for us. How can we live like this?

3. I am a poor Bangladeshi woman. When I was 13 years old, my parents arranged for me to marry a small farmer; my parents could only afford a small dowry, so my husband is a poor farmer. I try to be a good wife, but often he comes home and beats me up when he is unhappy and cannot get work. I have nowhere else to go; what else can I do but accept my lot quietly?

Appendix A: Annotated Bibliography

The following bibliography has been adapted from a semester-long, interdisciplinary course taught at Syracuse University. Some of the readings are used in the module and others can be selected at the instructor's discretion to supplement the module materials.

Citizenship and Community

Citizenship and the American Democracy

De Tocqueville, Alexis. 1945. *Democracy in America*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf
Born of a noble French family, De Tocqueville spent his early career as an assistant magistrate in the French government. In 1831 he journeyed to America in order to study its penal system. Following this trip, he wrote the classic, *Democracy in America* (1835), a much heralded commentary on the condition of the new American state and its people. In it, he analyzes the role of "associations" and money in American life, as well as American beliefs in liberty, equality, and individualism.

Mueller, John. 1992. Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery. *American Journal of Political Science* 36(4): 983-1003.
John Mueller, a professor of political science at the University of Rochester, is an authority on how public opinion influences and is affected by foreign affairs. He is author of *Retreat from Doomsday: Obsolescence of Major War* (1989) and *War, Presidents , and Public Opinion* (1973). He makes three arguments in an effort to help explain the growth of democracy over the last two centuries. First he argues the simplicity of the notion of democracy, which does not need elections to take place. Second, he argues that democracy has little to do with political equality. Lastly, Mueller suggests that democracy does not challenge individuals to be more than average human beings.

Parenti, Michael. 1980. The Constitution as an Elitist Document. In *How democratic is the constitution?*, eds. Robert A. Godwin and William A. Schambra, 39-58. Washington, D.C.: AEI Press.
The author questions the notion that the US Constitution was intended to create an egalitarian democracy. He claims that the framers of the Constitution wrote a document aimed at protecting the interests of the elite by focusing on the symbolic trappings of democracy (such as voting) while leaving to the elite the control of the critically important substantive political system. The consequence of this, he argues, has been to solidify economic and social inequalities.

As students read this essay they might ask themselves whether procedures such as elections are simply symbolic in a democracy. Can political procedures be neatly separated from the substance of civic life?

Barber, Benjamin R. 1989. Neither leaders nor followers: Citizenship under strong democracy. In M. Beschloss and T. Cronin, eds. *Essays in the honor of James MacGregor Burns.* Berkeley, CA: Prentice Hall Publishers, chapter 1.
Barber asks how stronger forms of citizenship and participation might be reinstilled in the United States. He argues that the current "thin democracy" practiced in the US is overly concerned with issues of leadership and representation and, as a consequence, fails to provide an environment that supports the development of competent citizens. The goal of a "strong democracy," which Barber advocates, is to produce democratic citizens who are as competent in dealing with issues of civic responsibility as they are in dealing with individual rights.

Held, Virginia. 1987. Non-contractual society: A feminist view. In M. Hanen and K. Nielsen, eds. *Science, morality and feminist theory.* Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, pp. 111-137.
Virginia Held, a professor of philosophy, is author of *The Public Interest and Individual Interests* (1970) and *Right and Goods: Justifying Social Action* (1984). She is currently teaching at the City University of New York, Hunter College. In this essay, she questions the conceptions of contractual thinking of human relations. Held looks at society from a different point of view than that of "economic man." She elaborates on the opinions of women as the basis for trying to rethink society and its possible goals. She points out that there is no definitive point of view of women, notes that the opinions of women are potentially as diverse as men, and argues that the female perspective has been discounted across the spectrum. In this essay she tries to give voice to one feminist perspective.

Tussman, Joseph. C. 1960. *The office of the citizen.* Lecture given at Syracuse University.
Joseph Tussman is a former professor of philosophy at Syracuse University and now professor emeritus at University of California, Berkeley. A student of Alexander Meiklejohn, Tussman has written about citizenship, political philosophy, and leadership. His works include *Obligation of the Body Politic* (1960), *Experiment at Berkeley* (1969), *Government of the Mind* (1977), and *The Burden of Office* (1989).

In this essay, Tussman argues that the political forum and the economic marketplace are antithetical -- cooperative and competitive processes are not the same; deliberating and bargaining are two different processes; statesmanship and salesmanship are distinct professions; and the art of making decisions is not identical to the art of bargaining. Since there is considerable incompatibility between these two sets of attitudes, they may end up destroying each other. The end result, he argues, could be the end of the deliberative forum called "rational government."

Alinsky, Saul. 1971. *Rules for the radicals.* New York, NY: Random House, pp. 3-47.
These two chapters offer a radical view of democracy. Here is an excerpt of the reading so you can get a sense of the extremity of this piece. "In this book we are concerned with how to create mass organizations to seize power and give it to the people in order to realize the democratic dream of equality, justice, peace, cooperation, equal and full opportunities for education, full and useful employment, health, and the creation of those circumstances in which man can have the

chance to live by values that give meaning to life. We are talking about a mass power organization which will change the world into a place where all men and women walk erect, in the spirit of that credo of the Spanish Civil War, 'Better to die on your feet than to live on your knees.'"

Novak, Michael. 1993. *The catholic ethic and the spirit of capitalism.* New York: The Free Press, MacMillian, Inc., pp. 62-88.
Michael Novak held the George Frederick Jewett Chair at the American Enterprise Institute, a highly regarded and conservatively oriented think-tank. He served as Professor of Religion at Syracuse University in the early 1970s. He began his career as a student of theology with a liberal perspective. Since then his writings have increasingly focused on the interactions among moral, economic, and political systems, and his views have become more aligned with the modern conservative perspective. In 1994, he became the 24th recipient of the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion for his contributions to the study of religion.

The American Environmental Crisis: Live for Today or Tomorrow?

Switzer, Jacquelin Vaughn. 1994. Water quality from ground to tap. In *Environmental politics: Domestic and global dimensions.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, (pp. 169-80 only).
Jacquelin Vaugh Switzer is currently associate professor of political science at Southern Oregon State College in Ashland where she specializes in American government and public policy. Her nonacademic experience includes service in the public affairs division of Los Angeles' South Coast Air quality Management District, the nation's largest regional environmental agency. She has also been an environmental policy analyst for Southern California Edison, specializing in the impact of federal, state, and local environmental legislation.

In this chapter from her book, Switzer examines the politics of water quality. A brief explanation of the nature and causes of water pollution is followed by a review of federal legislation regulating surface and ground water pollution. The author concludes by analyzing the successes and failures of federal water policy.

Hall, Bob and Mary Lee Kerr. 1992. Water Pollution. In *Green index.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press, pp. 27-41.
Bob Hall and Mary Lee Kerr are researchers at The Institute for Southern Studies. The Green Index began initially in late 1989 as an assessment of environmental conditions and policies in the South. It quickly grew to include an analysis of all 50 states. Its first release, prior to Earth Day 1990, received immediate and extensive media attention. The assigned reading is an excerpt from their updated 1991-1992 Green Index.

Hall and Kerr provide an overview of the geography of water quality in the US. They describe several indicators used to determine water quality, and they provide thematic maps and descriptive statistics which offer comparisons between the fifty US. states.

Sagoff, Mark. 1995. Zuckerman's dilemma: A plea for environmental ethics. In Pierce and VanDeVeer, eds. *People, penguins, and plastic trees: Basic issues in environmental ethics.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., pp. 172-181.
Mark Sagoff is a researcher at the Center for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland who has written extensively in the area of philosophy, public policy, the environment, and law. His essays have been published in such journals as the *Yale Law Journal* 84(1974), *Environmental Ethics* 84(1981), *Ecology Law Quarterly* 14(1987), *The Minnesota Law Review* 71(1986), and *The Michigan Law Review* 79(1981).

In this article he outlines three ways in which we value nature. We may value it as an instrumental good, an aesthetic good, and a moral good. He then makes the argument that our motivation for preserving the natural environment is not only based in the instrumental benefit we gain from it but also in the aesthetic and moral worth we place on it. The instrumental value of whales, for instance, has declined since we have found substitutes for whale oil. However, we admire and appreciate the very magnificence of whales. This intrinsic value has no substitute. The notion that the natural environment contains qualities for which there are no substitutes is central to Sagoff's case that we should stress moral and ethical reasons when arguing for the preservation of healthy ecosystems.

Hardin, Garrett. 1968. The tragedy of the commons. *Science* 162: 1243-1248.
In this famous essay, Garrett Hardin asks, "Is it rational for us to maximize our personal gain in our use of the 'commons'"? The commons are areas of land, sea, and air to which everyone has access, but which no one owns. He argues that if commons are used for the maximization of individual gain, tragedy will result. As populations grow, pressure on the commons increases, eventually resulting in its destruction. His solution is a central authority that restricts personal liberties through such measures as the imposition of private property, pollution taxes, and limits on human reproduction. Hardin insists that if we are to preserve the integrity of the natural environment, we must accept the need for coercion.

Caduto, Michael J. and Joseph Bruchac. 1991. *Native American stories told by Joseph Bruchac.* Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.
Joseph Bruchac is a member of the Abenaki Tribe. He has won national awards as a storyteller, poet, and novelist, and is the story teller in residence at the Onondaga Indian School as well as the Akwesasne Mohawk School.

Like Aesop's Fables, these Native American stories use parables about the interaction between animals to pass on knowledge and understanding about specific social customs. They offer, therefore, particular insight into Native American culture and attitudes toward nature.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. 1993. Thinking like an economist. In *Economics.* New York, NY: W. W. Northon and Co., pp. 27-37.
The reading comes from Chapter 2 of Professor Stiglitz's new textbook, *Economics.* The purpose of this reading is to provide a brief introduction to the fundamental assumptions that underlie most economic analysis. Three of these are especially critical: we live in a world of scarce resources; people make rational decisions; and individual preferences are important. A simple example surrounding the environment helps demonstrate these examples.

Gomez-Ibanez, Jose A. and Joseph P. Kalt. 1990. Saving the Tuolomne. In *Cases in Microeconomics.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pp. 189-200.
Gomez-Ibanez and Kalt are professors in the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. This chapter explains the basic elements of a cost-benefit study to beginning students of economics. It highlights the difficulty of quantifying the costs and benefits of some environmental projects. You should consider whether some benefits or costs should not be quantified as a matter of public policy. If you believe some are fundamentally nonquantifiable, then consider alternative ways of determining these costs and benefits.

Schnaiberg, Allan and Kenneth Alan Gould. 1994. Society as the enemy of the environment: Battle plans for the assault. In A. Schnaiberg, ed. *Environment and society: The enduring conflict.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, pp. 22-41.
Allan Schnaiberg and Kenneth Alan Gould are both environmental sociologists who hold academic positions at Northwestern University and St. Lawrence University respectively. The following excerpt comes from their book, *Environment and Society: The Enduring Conflict,* written as an undergraduate text.

This piece presents an historical overview of how societies from preindustrial times to the present have lived within or sought to overcome ecological limits. What we understand as the limits imposed by nature has changed considerably over time. While the industrial revolution of the 19th Century appeared to obliterate ecological limits, we are faced in the 20th Century with a new appreciation of these limits as environmental deterioration has global consequences.

Traux, Hawley. 1990. Beyond white environmentalism: Minorities at risk. *Environmental Action Magazine,* Jan/Feb, 19-21.
African-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans in the US are disproportionately burdened with the risks associated with environmental pollution. This article provides evidence to support this statement by focusing on the three examples, lead poisoning, farm poisoning, and the siting of toxic facilities. What challenge does this evidence present to prevailing concepts of social justice?

Hong, Peter and Dori Jones Yang. 1992. Tree-huggers vs. jobs: It's not that simple. *Business Week*, October 19.
This article examines the complexity of measuring the economic impact of environmental regulations by focusing on how regulations can both encourage and restrict job creation.

McKee, Bradford. 1992. Environmental price tags. *Nation's Business Magazine* (April). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Chamber of Commerce. This article provides evidence that small firms are having a hard time coping with the mounting costs associated with environmental regulations, making it tough for them to compete in the market place. Should environmentally destructive industry be discouraged? If so, how?

Derr, Kenneth T. 1992. *Beware the cutting edge.* Address delivered to the American Legislative Exchange Council Annual Conference, Colorado Springs, Colorado, August 7, 1992.
Kenneth Derr, an executive for Chevron Oil, describes the burden placed on the US petroleum industry by the Clean Air Act. If we care about environmental quality, should we reduce our reliance on commodities whose use and production damage the environment? How can consumer habits change? What solutions does Derr offer?

Global Linkages To Citizenship

The Nation

Kennedy, Paul. 1993. *Preparing for the twenty-first century.* New York, NY: Random House Inc., pp. 122-134.
Paul Kennedy is an English-born historian, now teaching at Yale University. This selection describes the nation "from above," from the perspective of its centralized government and its role as an actor in international affairs. Kennedy points out the current challenges to the nation from both transnational and subnational developments. His analysis raises at least two basic questions: (1) is his assessment of the seriousness of the challenges to the nation correct, and (2) should we conclude that the nation is outdated and needs to be replaced by other forms of organization?

Spero, Joan. 1990. Introduction: The link between economics and politics. In *The politics of international economic relations.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, pp. 1-17.
Joan Spero has been a professor at Columbia University, a US government official, and a senior vice president at American express Company. In this article, Joan Spero discusses the relationships between economics and politics, from both a domestic and an international perspective. She provides three frameworks for examining this relationship: (1) the relationship between the political system and the economic system, (2) the relationship between political concerns and economic policy, and (3) the inherently political nature of international economic relations. She continues by looking at three very different subsystems of the global economy and the interdependence and dependence evident in these three frameworks.

Gilpin, Robert. 1987. The liberal perspective. In T*he political economy of international relations.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 26-31, 43-46, and 245-252.
Robert Gilipin summarizes the "liberal" perspective on economics and the role of government in economic systems. He points out that "liberal economic theory is committed to free markets and

minimal state intervention" and contends that a smart system "increases economic efficiency, maximizes economic growth and thereby improves human welfare." He argues that liberals believe that trade and economic intercourse are a source of peaceful relations among nations. He concludes his discussion of economic liberalism by looking at several critiques, among them the tendency for economic liberalism to focus on efficiency and economic growth while ignoring issues of equity and justice.

The Global Economy

Greider, William. 1995. The global marketplace: A closet dictator. In R. Nadar et al., eds. *Who will tell the people?* San Francisco, CA: Earth Island Press, pp. 195-217.
William Greider is a journalist and author whose recent books include *Secrets of the Temple*, which is about the Federal Reserve, and *Who Will Tell the People?*, about the corruption of American democracy. Others have described the world as increasingly integrated by trade, investment, and technology -- a kind of global community based on norms of private profit, economic efficiency, and growth. Journalist William Greider presents an alternative view of global community. If economic globalization occurs without a corresponding globalization of political democracy, Greider sees a threat to democratic self-determination. In a world where the bargaining power of multinational corporations and the competitive pressures of the market determine what, where, how and by whom products are produced and consumed, the ability of citizens to determine their own conditions of work and life democratically will be undermined, thus weakening democracy through unrestrained economic globalization. Greider suggest that we ought to think about the possibilities of a global community based on values of democratic self-determination. How would our thought and action have to change for Greider's vision of global community to be possible?

Fallows, James. 1993. How the world works. *The Atlantic Monthly* (December): 61-87.
James Fallows is the Washington editor of the Atlantic Monthly, and he spent five years living and working in Asia. Fallows argues that crucial lessons about economic development have been forgotten in Britain and America. In the Anglo-American world, economic theory has long been based upon the ideas of Adam Smith, especially his concept of the self-regulating market. From this perspective, it appears that tampering with the market restricts freedom, hampers efficiency, and increases the costs to consumers; therefore, the best possible course is to leave the market alone. But according to Fallows, this is not really "How The World Works." Finding the ideas of the German economist Friedrich List at work in some of Asia's rapidly developing countries, Fallows suggest that government interference in the market continues to be an important way for societies to pick themselves up by their own bootstraps and to develop rapidly their economic and industrial capacities. According to this view often referred to as economic nationalist, in a world of competing nation-states, a country's power and independence are based on its relative level of economic and industrial development, which in turn can be influenced by government policies that manipulate the economy in order to produce the desired result.

Foster, Catherine. 1995. Footprint around the globe. *The Christian Science Monitor* (March 22): 1 and 8.
This is a short piece in which the author discuses how western images of popular culture have spread throughout the world. The piece focuses on the impact the popular cable music channel MTV has had on non western culture.

***The Economist*. 1993. A survey of multinationals. March 27, 5-20.**
The Economist is an informative, conservative, weekly magazine on economic and political affairs. Multinational corporations (MNCs) are often thought to be the chief agents of economic globalization. This article argues that they may not be the monsters they are sometimes perceived to be. Some MNCs are new; many are small. MNCs are more regionally oriented than global. Their ownership is dispersed across far more nation-states than thought, and alliances among them make it increasingly inaccurate to speak of "US MNCs" or "industrialized-world MNCs." Some are even publicly owned.

Mies, Maria. 1986. Housewifization international: Women and the new international division of labor. In *Patriarchy and accumulation on the world scale: Women and the new international division of labour*. Atlantic Highlands: Zed Books Ltd., pp. 112-135.
Maria Mies is a sociologist and author of several books, including *Indian Women and Patriarchy* (1980) and *The Lace Makers of Narsapur* (1982). She is currently active in the women's and environmental movements in Germany. Her most recent book is *Women, the Last Colony* (1988), written in collaboration with Claudia von Werlhof and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen. In this article, Mies argues that "housewifization" -- the notion that women worldwide are supported primarily by a husband (male breadwinner) while their job is to reproduce the family unit -- is a strategy by capitalists to blur the role of women in order to maximize profits. She asserts that poor women in Third World countries perform "informal" and thus invisible labor to make cheap items for First World women. This link allows capitalists (i.e., MNCs) to reduce labor costs and gain huge profits. Mies suggests there is a capitalist conspiracy of "blaming the victim" that sees Third World women as responsible for their own poverty when they over-reproduce instead of produce for the world marketplace. In this view, women are breeders of "human resources" who if "underutilized" (i.e., if they are but surplus, unemployed labor) are inefficient consumers (extra mouths to feed but not contributing to international capitalism).

Reich, Robert. 1990. Who is us? *Harvard Business Review* (Jan/Feb): 53-64.
Robert Reich is a Harvard professor who was Secretary of Labor in the first Clinton administration. In these articles, Robert Reich argues that the world economy is changing in fundamental ways, ways which he thinks should affect how we think about "us" and "them." In the increasingly interdependent global economy, corporations carry out their activities all around the world and their country of origin is less and less relevant. It is now common for multinational corporations (MNCs) to have their official headquarters in the US while having much of their investment, research and development, and production in other countries . Likewise, foreign firms do much work in the US. So who is "us"? And why should we care: what is at stake for "us"?

Reich, Robert. 1991. Who is them? *Harvard Business Review* (Mar/Apr): 77-88.
In the second article in this series, Reich argues that it is still possible to think of the world economy as being composed of "us" and "them," but that "us" no longer means American corporations and "them" does not necessarily refer to foreign corporations. So who is "us" and who is "them?" How can we deal with "them" in such a way that we will thrive and prosper in the new global economy? How is Reich's prescription similar to, or different from, that of a "free trader" or and "economic nationalist"?

Adler, Paul. 1993. Time and motion regained. *Harvard Business Review* (Jan/Feb): 97-108.
Adler describes the case of an automobile manufacturing plant in Fremont, California, which was built and run by General Motors (GM) until 1982, when GM closed the plant. Until that time, it had been plagued by labor problems and had performed badly in terms of both productivity and quality. After the plant was closed, GM joined with Toyota to reorganize and reopen the plant as a joint venture called New United Motor Manufacturing Incorporated, or NUMMI. NUMMI is an example of direct foreign investment in the US.

The Western Pacific Rim

Rozman, Gilbert. 1991. The East Asian region in comparative perspective. In G. Rozman, ed. *The East Asian region: Confucian heritage and its modern adaptation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 15-19.
Gilbert Rozman is professor of Sociology at Princeton University. His research and writing cover world politics, the history of China and Japan, Sino-Soviet and Soviet-Japan relations, and former communist countries, especially the former Soviet Union.

The Western Pacific Rim has been Confucianized for centuries. The author reviews the central concepts in the Confucian world view and makes intra-regional comparison. He considers what is essential to Confucianism in China, Japan, and other East Asian countries and traces some outstanding differences among them. Rozman notes that over many centuries, this regional Confucian tradition interacted with distinct national traditions and responded to outside challenges.

Creel, H.G. 1953. Confucius and the struggle for human happiness. *Chinese thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-Tung*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 25-45.
H.G. Creel is emeritus professor for East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. He has written widely on Confucius and ancient Chinese society.

The philosophy of Confucianism has provided the bedrock for Chinese institutions and behavior for the past 2500 years, and continues to do so. This selection examines Confucius and his philosophy in the context of 500 BC China. The Addendum for the Analects by Confucius

provides examples of his philosophy in his own world. What kind if insight into Chinese society do you gain from these articles?

Shichihei, Yamamoto. 1992. A protestant ethic in a non-Christian context. In *The spirit of Japanese capitalism and selected essays*. Lanham, MD: Pacific Basin Institute.
In this piece of writing, the author provides an inside-out perspective of Japanese-style capitalism. Yamamoto Shichihei, argues that Japanese capitalism is different from that of the West. Several unique characteristics of Japanese-style capitalism have been singled out to support his argument. What are these characteristics? Why does the author claim that the American capitalist system and the policies that have been formulated are not applicable in Japan? What, according to the author, motivates apprentices in Japan to work hard and learn their trade well?

Teng, Ssu-yu and John K. Fairbank. 1954. Commissioner Lin's program for meeting British aggression. In *China's response to the West*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, pp. 23-28.
This is an introduction and partial translation of China's official response to the threat of Western imperial penetration in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Barnet, Richard and John Cavanah. 1994. Marlboro country. In *Global dreams: Imperial corporations and the new world order*. Touchstone Books, pp. 198-204.
Richard J. Barnet is the author of Global Reach and ten other books. His articles have appeared in *The New Yorker, Harper's, The New York Times*, and numerous other periodicals. John Cavanagh is the co-author of seven books on the world economy and is currently a Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies and the Transnational Institute in Washington, D.C..

This is a short piece on the global marketing practices of US. tobacco companies. Do you see any parallels between the practices of US firms (and the US. government) and the Opium Wars of the nineteenth century? How might Commissioner Lin respond to this form of "economic aggression"?

Richie, Donald. 1991. Japan: A description. In *A lateral view: Essays on contemporary Japan*, Berkeley, CA: Stone Bridge Press, pp.11-19.
Donald Richie, who has lived in Japan since 1952, was a member of the American occupation forces following WWII and now writes on popular Japanese culture for the *Japan Times*. These three short pieces touch upon the aesthetic in Japan (which incorporates a simple form and an underlying social pattern), Confucian heritage, regularity, and the importance of the group. To make his point, Richie describes the relationship between living space and nature and how nature (trees, bushes, carved wood) and society (the place of the individual in the group, relationship to outsider) are shaped by culture. He examines the Japanese penchant for archetypal pattern, which is repeated everywhere, even in modern copies of the old. Finally, he writes of the patterns of time, how it is used, how it is related to status. Do time and space carry the same meaning for Japanese as they do for American?

Earl, David, M. 1964. Chinese thought and Japanese tradition (1964). In *Emperor and nation in Japan*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, pp. 3-6.
In this selection, a leading American scholar of Japanese thought explains how the Tokugawa shougunate, which ruled Japan from 1600 to 1868, adopted Confucian philosophy from China as the regime's official ideology. The author also explains the Confucian ethic of five fundamental human relationships, the fulfillment of which led to a noble human life and re-enforced the idea of the group rather than the individual as the basis of Japanese society.

Longji, Sun. 1989. The deep structure of Chinese culture. In Geremie, Barme, and John, eds. *Seeds of fire: Chinese voices of conscience*. New York, NY: Noonday Press, pp. 32-34.
These excerpts are from the Chinese writer Sun Longji's book *The Deep Structure of Chinese Culture* ("The Network of Sodality," "Inner and Outer Circles," "The Chinese Concept of Man," "Identity," and "The Chinese Outsider"). Following a Confucianist line, Longhi focuses upon the importance of the social network and the fact that the Chinese person is defined as a person by his/her relationship with others. What is the place of the individual in this society? Does on deal with everyone in society equally?

Theroux, Paul. 1993. Going to see the dragon. *Harper's Magazine* (October): 33-56.
Paul Theroux is a writer particularly known for his travel books. In 1989 he published *Riding the Iron Rooster*, a book chronicling his train travels in China. In his return visit to the Peoples Republic of China in 1993, Theroux spent his time in the new industrial zones of the south investigating the "Chinese miracle" -- China's overnight emergence as the world's third largest economy. As Theroux travels through Guandong Province, we meet his driver Mr. Li and see the juxtaposition of traditional mud-and-buffalo rice growing villages with cities in the making; we witness the entrepreneurial spirit that is creating indigenous millionaires overnight; and we wander through the Chinese trade fair, attended by representatives of many Western corporations all looking for deals. We are led to consider the relationship between recent Chinese political history and the growth of capitalism. Why is manufacturing suddenly booming in China? Is it a contradiction to have a capitalistic expansion in this communist country?

Kristoff, Nicholas. 1990. China sees 'market Leninism' as a way to future and entrepreneurial energy sets off a Chinese boom. *The New York Times* (September 6): A1 and A12.
Nicholas Kristoff was the bureau chief for the *New York Times* in Beijing. Over the past 15 years, China has transformed its centrally planned economy into a booming market economy. In 1992 and 1993, the GNP grew by 12 percent. Like Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong, known as "miracle economies," China is a Confucian-based society that emphasizes education. Like some other countries, it also follows the East Asian tradition of free-market authoritarianism. Despite this free market, Communist Party rule continues. The disparities of wealth that Maoism sought to extinguish are returning with a serious increase in corruption.

Weinstein, Martin, E. 1983. Yotaro Kobayashi, portrait of a Japanese businessman. In *The human face of Japan's leadership: Twelve portraits.* Westport, CT: Praeger, pp. 287-321.

M.E. Weinstein, professor from the University of Illinois, is Japan Chair at the center for Strategic and International studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. One of the most prevalent and dangerous misperceptions about Japan is its image as a faceless, impersonal, corporate entity. This reading looks at a group of Japanese politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen who are likely to lead Japan into the 21st century. What about Yotaro Kobayashi strikes you as distinctively Japanese? What aspects of his experience could be shared by many American businessmen?

Allinson, Gary D. 1984. Rhythm of urban life. In J. Agnew, J. Mercer, and D. Sopher, eds. *The city in cultural context.* Boston: Allan & Unwin, pp. 172-175.

Gary Allinson is professor of East Asian Studies at the University of Virginia. This descriptive excerpt reveals Allinson's familiarity with life in Tokyo. The first part follows a typical young businessman through his day. You will observe some differences from American patterns, among them the primacy of public transportation and the less-than-hectic but lengthy working day. The lack of any weekday domestic life is striking also. Allinson moves on to sketch the typical female spouse's "sexually segregated existence" confined to home, neighborhood, and child-rearing activities. Thirdly, Allinson glances at the celebrated lifelong loyalty of firm to worker and vice-versa. Since this piece describes life in Japan some time ago, one might ask how much times have changed in Japan since then.

Chie, Nakane. 1970. *Japanese Society*. Berkeley,CA: University of California Press, pp. 2-5, 14-15, 16-17 23, 25-28, 33-36, 42-44, 64-65, 69-70, 143-147, 149-150.

This selection by Nakane Chie, Professor of Social Anthropology at the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, explains the basic hierarchical group organization of Japanese society. It explains, from the inside, how Japanese culture works, both within the relatively small groups that are the basis of society and among groups forming the intricate "web" often seen as an appropriate metaphor for life in Japan. Once this group-based pattern is understood, much else about the ethic and dynamic of life in Japanese society is clarified.

Honig, Emily and Gail Hershatter. 1988. Women and work. In Honig and Hershatter, eds. *Personal voices: Chinese women in the 1980's.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 243-272.

Emily Honig is professor of Chinese History and women's Studies at Yale. Gail Hershatter is professor of Chinese Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Both women were in the People's Republic of China (PRC) for different projects, but were so struck by the rapidly changing social environment of women that they decided to write a book together on contemporary women in the PRC. They each shared a room with a Chinese woman in a university dormitory and, through conversations with them and their friends, came to realize that formerly "private" issues (such as adornment, courtship, marriage, divorce) were becoming topics of intense public discussion. Their book is based upon these conversations and an analysis of articles in Chinese language magazines. In this chapter, the authors discuss the problems that

women (especially college graduates) have faced in entering the workforce and the conflicts they face because of their responsibility for the home.

Williams, Juan. 1992. West meets east. *The Washington Post Magazine*, 12-28.
Juan Williams went to Japan on a 10-week fellowship to study prejudice. As an African American, he is sensitive to the way discrimination operates in the United States. Is it the same in Japan? Interviewing several Americans, including African-Americans and European-Americans, and men and women, he is told that a foreigner in Japan is never quite sure if he or she is experiencing prejudice because of nationality (non-Japanese), race (black/white), or gender (he/she). To be non-Japanese in Japan is to be an outsider. Williams examines discrimination in Japan further by interviewing people from the three major minority groups in Japan, including Koreans, Ainu, and Burakumin.

Local Communities

Gandhi, M. K. 1959. Swaraj, socialism, and communism. In *Economic and industrial life and relations*. Ahmebadad, India: Navajivan House, pp. 3-17.
This readings shows the important role that the self-sufficient village played in Gandhi's social philosophy. Gandhi was one of the most influential moral thinkers of the 20th century. Yet some basic aspects of his moral teaching have not won widespread support even in his home state of India. Can you account (1) for the extent of Gandhi's influence and (2) for its limits? Is he teaching relevant today?

Oommen, T.K. 1981. Gandhi and village: Toward a critical appraisal. In S. Kumar Lal, ed. *Gandhi and Village*. New Delhi, India: Agricole Publishing Academy, pp. 1-11.
T.K. Oommen is a professor of sociology at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, India. While not entirely uncritical, Oommen attempts to uphold as much as he can of Gandhi's social philosophy, particularly with regard to the village. How successful is Oommen's defense of Gandhi's views? And how applicable are they to your world?

Barber, Benjamin R. 1992. Jihad vs. McWorld. *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 53-55 and 58-63. (See also Barber, Benjamin. 1995. Jihad vs. McWorld: How globalism and tribalism are reshaping the world. New York, NY: Ballantine Books.)
Benjamin Barber is professor of Political Science at Rutgers University where he developed a research center on the culture and politics of democracy. In this essay, he argues that the world is being pulled in opposite directions by two forces -- parochial hatreds and universalizing markets. Are these forces, as Barber suggest, anti-democratic? Do you agree with the remedy he proposes (borrowing form the Green movement), "Think globally, act locally"?

Stavrianos, L.S. 1981. Multinational corporations and the Green Revolution in the Third World. In *Global rift: The Third World comes of age.* New York, NY: William Morrow, Inc., pp. 446-450.
The Green Revolution involved the transformation of agriculture in Third World countries by using new strains of food crops, along with chemical fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation and other more capital-intensive agricultural technologies developed in the laboratories of first world corporations and research centers. While this is sometimes presented as a beneficial use of science and technology in order to feed the world's poor, historian L.S. Stavrianos takes a more critical view. Stavrianos sees the Green Revolution as creating international markets for US. multinationals interested in selling agricultural machines and chemicals. Within Third world countries, Stavrianos claims, the Green Revolution has benefited the minority of larger and wealthier landowners, who can afford the machinery, chemicals, and irrigation that allow them to get the most out of the new seed varieties. These farmers tend to grow cash crops for export in order to make a profit on the world market. As they have expanded, they have displaced small-scale peasant farmers who grow subsistence crops in order to feed their families. These farmers are often forced off the land and into urban slums and shanty towns where they join the increasing masses of the impoverished and unemployed. Was the Green revolution a good thing for the Third World?

Dak, T.M. 1989. *Green revolution and social change.* Delhi, India: Ajanta Publications, pp. 65-77.
T.M. Dak is an associate professor of Sociology at Haraa Agricultural University in Hisar, India. Dak provides an account of the history of the Green revolution in India. He also discusses associated social changes and evaluates the results.

Gupta, Ashis. 1991. *Bhopal, the forgotten tragedy.* Malka Ganj, Delhi, India: Ajanta Pub.
Gupta provides us with a description and analysis of the 1984 Bhopal gas disaster from a "local" Indian and a recent updated (1991) perspective. Can Bhopal be viewed as a local community "victim"? What is the connection between Bhopal and the Green Revolution in international agricultural production? Has this tragedy been so soon forgotten that it represents a failure of the predominant international economic system?

Morse, Bradford and Thomas R. Berger. 1992. *The report of the Independent Review.* Ottawa: Sardar Sarovar Projects Independent Review, pp. xi-xxv, 3-7, and 61-79.
The members of this review included Bradford Morse, a former US Congressman and the former Administrator of the United Nations Development Program; Thomas Berger, a Canadian lawyer known for his work on human rights, indigenous peoples, and the environment; Donald Gamble, a Canadian engineer with expertise in environmental policy and water development issues; and Hugh Brody, a British-educated anthropologist now living in Canada, who has done studies of indigenous peoples and land use areas in northern North America including an impact study on the Alaska pipeline.

This reading consists of three chapters from the book. The first, the letter to the President of the World Bank, represents the actual document provided to the World Bank administration summarizing and highlighting the conclusions of this review. Chapter 1 details the origins of the Sardar Sarovar project. Pay special attention to the roots and the escalation of this conflict. Finally, Chapter 5 is about the indigenous (tribal) people in this valley. Reflect upon the views and dreams of Gandhi and Nehru in relation to Sardar Sarovar.

Thukral, Enakshi G. and Machindra D. Sakate. 1992. Baliraja: A people's alternative. In G. Thukral, ed. *Big dams, displaced people: Rivers of sorrow, rivers of change.* New Delhi, India: Sage Publications, pp. 143-154

This chapter is based on a study done by Sakate, a member of the faculty at Rajshri Shahu college in Kolhapur, India. Thukral, the co-author, is the project coordinator at the Multiple Action Research Group (MARG, New Delhi, India). This reading presents a contrast to the case of Sardar Sarovar. In the case of Baliraja, the local people initiated the project based upon the farmers' need for water, which had become scarce from recurring droughts. This project differed from Sardar Sarovar by involving local initiative, participation, and use and because it was smaller in scale and included a provision for equal distribution of water.

Berreman, Gerald. 1985. Chipko: Nonviolent direct action to save the Himalayas. *South Asian Bulletin* 5(2): 8-13.

Gerald Berreman is an anthropologist at the University of California at Berkeley. Chipko is an environmental movement in which women are usually prominent. It originated in Himalayan regions of India and is largely made up of indigenous, subsistence farming families. According to Berreman what caused the split within the Chipko movement? The author considers Chipko to be a Gandhian model.

Weber, Thomas. 1994. Is there still a Chipko Andolan? *Pacific Affairs* 67(1): 615-628.

Thomas Weber is a professor at La Trobe University, Australia, and has written extensively about the Chipko Andolan. Weber traces the development and the divergence of the ideologies associated with the leaders of the Chipko movement. What is the connection between Chipko and Gandhi? Is the Chipko movement still rooted in local communities? What is its current relationship to local communities?

Kamaluddin, S. 1993. Lender with a mission. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 18, pp. 38-40.

S. Kamaluddin is the bureau chief in Dhaka, Bangladesh for the Far Eastern Economic Review. This is a brief description of a program claimed to have the potential to benefit materially poor people not only in South Asia but throughout the world. Adaptations of Mohammed Yunus' ideas have been applied in Arkansas, Chicago, Los Angeles after the 1992 riot, and El Salvador. The approach of micro-lending to support micro enterprise has proponents in the Clinton administration for use in inner-city and depressed rural areas in the US. Others urge that this approach should become the cornerstone of US international aid. Why might such programs succeed? Do you see any problems or shortcomings?

Futures

Kaslow, Amy and George Moffett. 1995. Refugees without a refuge: U.S. starts to pull up drawbridge. *The Christian Science Monitor* (March 1): 1 and 10-11.
In this piece, the authors discuss how the United States, a nation which once opened its arms to refugees, is now keeping them at arm's length. Does this change in policy dilute our understanding of democracy?

Kaplan, Robert D. 1994. The Coming Anarchy. *The Atlantic Monthly* (February): 44-76.
This is a rather depressing piece that previews the first few decades of the 21st Century. Even though our borders may be crumbling via free trade, another type of boundary has been erected -- "a wall of disease." Wars are fought over scarce resources, especially water, and war itself becomes continuous with crime, as armed bands of stateless marauders clash with the private security forces of the elites.

French, Hilary, F. 1995. Forging a new global partnership. In Schmidt, ed. *The state of the world.* Worldwatch Institute. London: Earthscan, pp. 170-189.
Although more positive than the Kaplan piece, French argues that global partnerships are floundering because of a failure of political will; we need to examine the complex interconnections among population growth, deteriorating social conditions, gender inequity, environmental degradation, and a range of other issues. A sustainable future cannot be secured without an aggressive effort to combat poverty and meet basic social needs for all the citizens of the world.

Appendix B: Selected Readings

The AAG was able to obtain reprint permission from the original publishers for only some of the readings suggested in this module. To avoid copyright problems, we suggest you make these readings available to your students by putting them on reserve. The following readings are enclosed:

1. Meyer, W.B., D. Gregory, and B.L. Turner, II, and P. F. McDowell. 1992. The local-global continuum. In Abler, Marcus, and Olson, eds. *Geography's inner worlds*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, pp. 255-279. (Reprinted with the permission of Rutgers University Press.)

2. Mueller, John. 1992. Democracy and Ralph's pretty good grocery: Elections, equality, and the minimal human being. *American Journal of Political Science* 36,4 (November): 983-1003. (Reprinted with the permission of the University of Wisconsin Press.)

3. Kaplan, Robert. 1994. The coming anarchy. *The Atlantic Monthly* (February): 44-76. (Reprinted with the permission of The Atlantic.)

CHAPTER 12

The Local-Global Continuum

William B. Meyer, Derek Gregory,
B. L. Turner II, and Patricia F. McDowell

The geographical imagination is most fully exercised when it wanders across a range of scales, teasing out the connective tissue that binds different levels of the local-to-global continuum together. Geography is not unique among disciplines in observing and working at various scales. As a pursuit in which space is central, however, geography has assumed priority in addressing a core issue: the role of spatial scales in inquiry and understanding, the issues embedded within the local-to-global or micro-to-macro research nexus.

The primary objective of this chapter is to review the geographical research agendas that have lately magnified questions of scale. Past forays into the subject suggest that a rigorous and detailed mapping of those agendas lies beyond our reach at present and may always remain so, because the issues are constantly redefined. But greater awareness of their outlines and dimensions will suggest promising directions for the immediate future.

We focus throughout this chapter on geographic research rather than on research by geographers, although our examples are biased toward geographic research conducted by geographers. The distinction is not trivial. Geographers commonly engage in research in technical areas or on subjects that are distant from their ultimate geographic goals; they may study pollen analysis to gain insights into past climates or document morbidity rates to inform research in population geography. Few among us would argue that a geographer's work at the scale of palynology or of individual-level data collection is per se geographic. On the other hand, the examples selected for this chapter should not be interpreted as the limits, domain, or core of geographic research. They are examples, nothing more.

Meyer, W.B., D. Gregory, and B.L. Turner, II, P.F. McDowell. 1992. "The Local-Global Continuum", in: Geography's Inner Worlds. eds. R.F. Abler, M.G. Marcus, and J.M. Olson. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers. pp 255-279.

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SPATIAL SCALES IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

The difficulties of linking research across spatial scales have long been recognized. The regional tradition that dominated Anglo-American human geography at mid-twentieth century displayed a largely intuitive sensitivity to the scale problems encountered in describing and characterizing areas—an awareness made explicit by Bird (1956). Whereas empirical research was conducted principally at the mesoscale, considerable microscale work was also done, albeit amid controversy as to its proper role in geography. Microstudies were defended either as a way of epitomizing the patterns and processes of a region through examination of smaller areas deemed to be typical of it, or as ways of highlighting local variability apt to be obscured in regional generalizations.

A more sharply focused but correspondingly more abstract engagement with issues of scale emerged after mid-century in spatial analysis and in geographic applications of systems theory. The quantitative revolution in human geography clarified the nature of several technical problems of scale in empirical research based on areal data that had previously been addressed outside the discipline, including the ecological fallacy and the effects of boundaries on data units. One team of economic geographers noted:

> In geographic investigation it is apparent that conclusions derived from studies made at one scale should not be expected to apply to problems whose data are expressed at other scales. Every change in scale will bring about the statement of a new problem, and there is no basis for assuming that associations existing at one spatial scale will also exist at another. (McCarty, Hoak, and Knos 1956:16)

A concrete illustration was Haggett's (1964) demonstration that the amount and distribution of forest cover in southeastern Brazil correlated with different factors as the scale of analysis moved from regional to local levels. From a purely empirical perspective, explanations of forest patterns could change at different scales of analysis.

Current interest in spatial-scale issues centers on substantive and conceptual matters. There is more than one local-to-global continuum in human geography, for *global* and *local* are dual in meaning; besides their spatial denotations, they refer to conceptual levels. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2d ed.) defines *global* not only as embracing the scale of the world, but as "pertaining to or embracing the totality of a number of items, categories, etc.; comprehensive, all-inclusive, unified, total." When Geertz (1983) writes of "local knowledge," on the other hand, he refers as much to its particularity, discreteness, and contextuality as to its spatial localization.

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Many issues related to scale in process and explanation that were first raised in geomorphology (Schumm and Lichty 1965) now find parallels in human geography (Watson 1978; Taylor 1981; Philbrick 1982; Palm 1986; Smith and Ward 1987; Bird 1989:19–43). Contemporary human geographers are drawn increasingly to diverse scales of study because of the wide range of subjects they address, and also because of their use of explanatory modes in which sensitivity to scale effects is explicit, modes that themselves imply spatial meaning. None are more powerful than those that focus on *globalization*.

In its strongest version, recognition that scale matters would foster the argument that processes and phenomena are not connected at all as scale of analysis changes, and attempts to develop heuristics to guide efforts to cross scales or to match concept with analysis would be fruitless. The other extreme—the view that scale matters not at all because apparent problems are illusory and easily resolved—finds expression in holism and in naïve aggregation. Holism entails a belief that macro-states determine micro-states and that regional or local attributes matter little compared to forces operating at the global scale. Naïve aggregation relies on summations of local forces to explain broader ones. Though both of these positions are represented in the geographic literature, neither is satisfactory. Less simplistic perspectives are needed to unravel the real issues of scale disjuncture.

The issues outlined here are illustrated by reviews of work drawn from the space-society and nature-society branches of geography. We make no attempt to cover all the subfields in these two broad branches of human geography but draw upon specific themes that amplify scale problems. The global-to-local theme has been played out in discussions of modernity and postmodernity in historical and economic geography. The local-to-global trajectory has also been traced by land-use research in cultural-ecological and resource geographies. For the sake of contrast, the two extremes of spatial and conceptual scale—the local and the global—are emphasized throughout.

Society, Space, and the Global-to-Local Continuum

Countless commentators have drawn attention to the persistent globalization of political, economic, and cultural life in the late twentieth century. Although the images conjured vary—from the global village Marshall McLuhan (1964) saw as emblematic of modernity to the vast stretches of hyperspace that Jameson (1988) views as symptomatic of postmodernity—they share a heightened sensitivity to the interdependence that underlies contemporary societies. Webs of interaction are spun across greater spans of time and space; sometimes erasing and always transforming existing landscapes, they put in place new spatial structures that frame and shape the conduct of social life in new and often unexpected ways.

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Modernity and Globalization. The need to think globally has never been greater, but it should not obscure the fact that globalization is not new. Following Taylor's (1981, 1982) lead, many geographers were inspired by Wallerstein's account (1979, 1984) of the genesis of the modern world system. Wallerstein locates the great divide between the traditional and modern worlds in the late sixteenth century. Until then, "the history of the world was the history of the temporal *coexistence* of three modes of production" (1984:164). They supported fragile and evanescent minisystems, unstable and transitory world economies "which were always transformed into empires: China, Persia, Rome" (Wallerstein 1974:16), and spectacular and encompassing world empires. In the sixteenth century, "for the first time, a world economy did not disintegrate but survived, and became the world capitalist system we know today" (Wallerstein 1984:164). Although it originated in Europe, the world economy was predicated upon ceaseless expansion and by the end of the nineteenth century included "virtually the whole inhabited earth" (Wallerstein 1984:165). What is particularly novel about Wallerstein's argument is that he conceives of the modern world system as a single system whose spatial structure is of central importance to the systematic surplus transfers that ensure its reproduction; "today," Wallerstein declares, "there is only *one* social system and therefore only *one* mode of production extant—the capitalist world-economy" (1984:165), (fig. 12.1).

One persistent objection to Wallerstein's thesis is the preeminence of a single scale of analysis (Agnew 1982). This preeminence has a number of implications. First, Wallerstein's theoretical apparatus and substantive analysis have a peculiarly Eurocentric cast, whereas Europe was "an upstart peripheral to an ongoing operation," an operation that during the thirteenth century stretched from northwestern Europe to China in a chain of interlocking spheres of exchange (fig. 12.2). This premodern world system was nonhierarchical and polycentric. Had its spheres and circuits not existed, Abu-Lughod insists, "when Europe gradually 'reached out,' it would have grasped empty space rather than riches" (1989:12). Also, even Europe's *outreach* cannot be explicated in uniquely European terms. In showing how the core subjugated the periphery, Wallerstein effectively confines the dynamism of the world system to the core and fails to recognize the dynamics of the periphery. Action be-

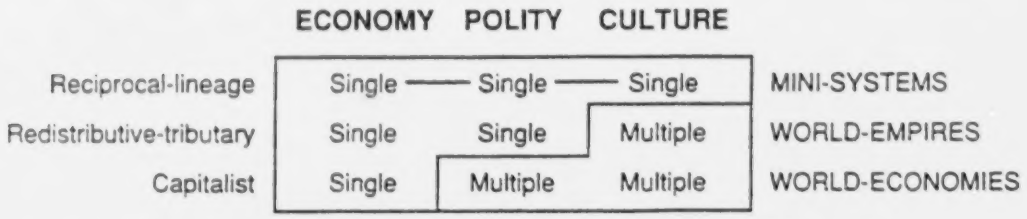

Fig. 12.1. The Relations of Economy, Polity, and Culture in Wallerstein's Schema.

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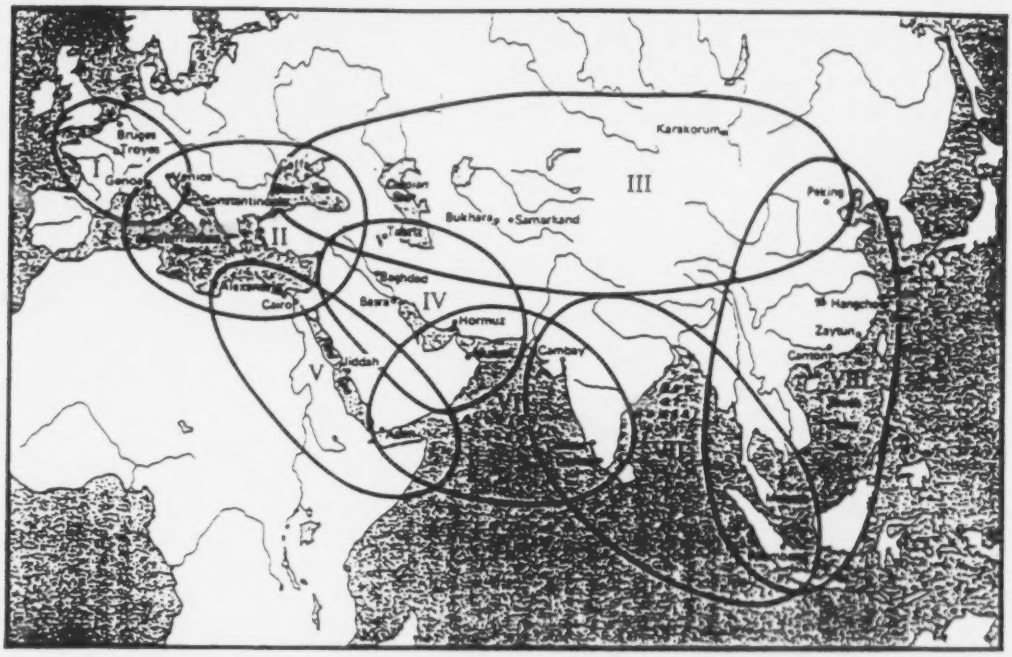

Fig. 12.2. The Eight Circuits of the Thirteenth-Century World System. SOURCE: Abu-Lughod 1989.

comes the preserve of Europeans and their descendants, to whom all other cultures merely or even passively respond (Wolf 1982).

A second objection, and another way of saying much the same thing, is that Wallerstein's framework makes it difficult to envisage regional geography as anything other than a screen on which the logic of the world system is projected. Yet from the colonial period onward, the incorporation of the United States into the world economy had profound consequences for different regions: "Indeed, regions have themselves often been defined by their relationships to the world-economy as much or more than by their relationships to each other" (Agnew 1987:20; see also Meinig 1986). This observation continues to be true, but Agnew also implies that from the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the rise to dominance of the United States within the world economy has fundamentally changed that economy's logic. In much the same way, Storper claims that "capital [has been] forever altered by the [subsequent] rise of Japan, not simply revealed 'in another instance'" (1987:420). The point of these reservations about Wallerstein's thesis is that in certain critical circumstances, "*the local makes the global*" (Storper 1987:420).

A third problem with Wallerstein's thesis is its reductionism. It would be foolish to deny the extraordinary power of the capitalist world economy, as recent events in Eastern Europe have made only too obvious, but it is wrong to fold the multiple dimensions of modernity into the single axis of capitalism. A host of scholars of different persuasions would now agree that no adequate

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historical geography of globalization can be written at an economic level alone, especially when one abandons the privileged perspective prevalent at Wallerstein's core. "Critical regional analysis of peripheral societies will stagnate [unless] we throw off the fetters of econocentrism" and develop a critical *political* theory (Sadler 1989:288). The horizons of such a project would of necessity be wide, and its contours cannot be confined to the state and to geopolitical alignments. The localization of experience is intense in many of these peripheral societies, and the struggles over meaning that inhere in particular places are struggles over *cultural* modalities. As such, they reach not only into the abstract calculus of commodity production, at once totalizing and globalizing, but also into the intensely concrete and capillary microphysics of local cultures and local knowledge. Peasants in subaltern societies may well be "people on whom the wave of modernity has just broken," but geographers will make little sense of their struggles if they persist in measuring the power of the wave as a uniquely economic force (Watts 1988:31).

These qualifications suggest that globalization is a compound process, a series of overlapping and interpenetrating changes that admit of no single, simple dynamic. In itself, perhaps, this does not say much. Certainly, it says nothing about the practical problems involved in conducting multilocale and multilevel inquiries, nor does it say anything about the contemporary crisis of representation that such inquiries must confront, wherein "the problematization of the spatial" looms large (Marcus and Fischer 1986; Marcus 1990). But it does at least suggest why social (and other human and cultural) theories that remain uninformed by geographical imagination will continue to represent modernity as (for example) the colonization of a monistic lifeworld by a monistic system. These singular simplifications have little real purchase on the topography of modernity, but the debate over postmodernism and postmodernity has pursued these questions most keenly; it offers one way in which the scales question might be thoroughly addressed.

Postmodernity and Globalization. It is difficult to place an abrupt caesura between modernity and postmodernity because of the profound schism in the late twentieth-century world between the locus of experience and the loci of power and production.

> What tends to disappear is the meaning of places for people. Each place, each city, will receive its social meaning from its location in the hierarchy of a network whose control and rhythm will escape from each place and, even more, from the people in each place. . . . The new space of a world capitalist system . . . is a space of variable geometry, formed by locations hierarchically ordered in a continuously changing network of flows. . . . Space is dissolved into flows . . . cities into shadows (Castells 1983:314).

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Such a disjuncture is a commonplace of modernity, where "the truth of experience no longer coincides with the place in which it takes place" (Jameson 1988:349). Similarly, myths come to surround consumption when its experience is divorced from the realities of production (Sack 1990). But postmodernity intensifies this disjuncture to such a degree that it becomes extraordinarily difficult to represent its configuration in modernist terms. To Jameson, for example, the spatial peculiarities of postmodernism are

> symptoms of a new and historically original dilemma, one that involves our insertion as individual subjects into a multidimensional set of radically discontinuous realities, whose frames range from the still surviving spaces of bourgeois private life all the way to the unimaginable decentering of global capital itself. Not even Einsteinian relativity, or the multiple subjective worlds of the older modernists, is capable of giving any kind of adequate figuration to this process. (1988:351).

Jameson's is not a counsel of despair. His analyses of postmodernism and postmodernity have sought to bring contemporary fragmentations within the comprehensive gaze of historical materialism. Parallel attempts by geographers to come to terms with the crisis of representation owe much to Jameson's reflections, and they bear directly on interpenetrations of the local and global.

Edward Soja's essays on the *internationalization* of Los Angeles provide some of the most illuminating and economical sketches of the ways in which the local and the global may be represented under the sign of postmodernism. Although the space-economy of the late twentieth-century city is situated within successive global and regional restructurings of capital, Soja rejects conventional models of modernization. Rather than trace the progressive march of modernity outward, through a series of metropolitan growth poles, Soja proposes a complex dialectic of globalization and localization in which, "more than ever before, the macro-political economy of the world is becoming contextualized and reproduced in the city" (1989:188).

> Ignored for so long as aberrant, idiosyncratic, or bizarrely exceptional, Los Angeles, in another paradoxical twist, has, more than any other place, become the paradigmatic window through which to see the last half of the twentieth century. I do not mean to suggest that the experience of Los Angeles will be duplicated elsewhere. But just the reverse may indeed be true, that the particular experiences of urban development and change occurring elsewhere in the world are being duplicated in Los Angeles. (Soja 1989:221)

This implosion renders conventional forms of spatial analysis inoperable, but the essentials of Soja's analysis are cast within the framework of David Har-

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vey's thoroughly modern historico-geographical materialism (Gregory 1990).

One of Harvey's longstanding concerns has been to show that the production of space is an essential moment in the reproduction and transformation of the capitalist mode of production. He argues that one of the characteristic impulses of capitalism has been what Marx called "the annihilation of space by time," a propensity for capital rotation to accelerate through what geographers term *time-space convergence* (Janelle 1969) or *time-space compression* (Harvey 1989). Postmodernity results from a deep-seated crisis in the Fordist regime of capital accumulation that was established during the decades immediately following World War II. This crisis is currently being resolved through the precarious and painful installation of a new regime of post-Fordist flexible accumulation. The crisis is predominantly one of temporal and spatial form, so that the transition from one regime of accumulation to another has to be embedded in a dramatic transformation of the space-economy of advanced capitalism. Indeed, contemporary waves of time-space compression have become so powerful that flexibility connotes hypermobility. Spasmodic surges of financial capital now shape the fortunes of people and places throughout the world.

> The rapidity with which currency markets fluctuate across the world's spaces, the extraordinary power of money capital flow in what is now a global stock and financial market, the volatility of what the purchasing power of money might represent, define . . . a high point of that highly problematic intersection of money, time and space as interlocking elements of social power in the political economy of postmodernity. (Harvey 1989:298)

These instabilities are structurally implicit in the contemporary crisis of representation. As human experience of time and space becomes fragmented and radically destabilized, people become increasingly unsure how to represent the tense and turbulent world in which they find themselves. If this uncertainty seems to address Castells's concerns, however, it also feeds into a *revalorization* of place: "The collapse of spatial barriers does not mean that the significance of place is decreasing . . . as spatial barriers diminish so we become much more sensitized to what the world's spaces contain" (Harvey 1989:294). Contemporary accent on the local—which includes "the discursive preoccupation with distinction, fragmentation and uniqueness," all watchwords of the postmodern sensibility—derives from the dynamics of globalization. The valorization of place is to be theorized within "the contradictory dynamics of increasingly footloose and mobile capital seeking out profitable locations amidst a highly disjointed and fragmented mosaic of uneven [global] development in which competitive places try to secure a lucrative development niche" (Swyngedouw 1989:31). The essential paradox for Soja, Harvey, and Swyn-

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gedouw is that the heightened importance of globalization does not erase the significance of difference; it requires, rather, its recomposition.

These issues remain to be settled. Some critics have urged a still more contextual analysis of post-Fordism, one that is more sensitive to the cultural and social specificities (the extraeconomic geographies) inscribed within the very modalities of "flexible specialization" (Sayer 1990), one that parallels the objections to Wallerstein's framework. Others have urged greater attention to the coexistence of other modes of economic organization: to geographies of combined as well as uneven development (Gertler 1988). Still others have cautioned against overvalorization of place and the construction of "mythical geographies" that fail to grapple with the formidable political geography of the local-global continuum (Amin and Robins 1990). All these proposals will confront a host of technical as well as theoretical difficulties (Cox and Mair 1989). But taken together, they indicate, in different ways, that spatial or conceptual scale need not be a barrier to understanding. It often seems that the commonplace politics of scale constitute one of the most insistently ideological aspects of everyday life. Through these multifaceted explorations of the complex and changing geographies of the local-global nexus and the critical vision they provide, geographers will begin to glimpse at least a provisional anatomy on which to base future incisions, even if the skeletal frameworks remain hidden.

Nature, Society, and the Local-Global Continuum

The themes of modernity and postmodernity have thrust globalization to the center of space-society research. Concern with the persistence of premodernity and with the environment has kept the focus on locality strong among nature-society geographers, particularly those who study the rural Third World. Globalization themes have entered not only through the conceptual issues noted above but through practical concerns emerging from the research agenda on human dimensions of global environmental change (Turner 1989a; Kates et al. 1990).

Locality in Premodernity. Much of the local-to-global discourse has been grounded in the study of land use, especially in the have-not world. To address this subject is almost to confront a conceptual and terminological impasse: the behavior and rationales of actors—whether individuals, groups, or societies—are not fully indigenous and traditional (precapitalist), yet neither are they modern (capitalist). Rather, a set of unique hybrids of human conditions and decisions influences land use between these polar types (Brush and Turner 1987). For the most part, these cultural hybrids engage nature directly on a day-to-day basis, primarily through smallholder agriculture. It is through the agricultural engagement with nature that the socioeconomic facets of the rela-

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tionship are articulated. Of particular significance is the dual nature of decision making that is grounded both in the rationalization of value captured in the market (commodity production) and in specific forms of production for consumption guided by indigenous motives and rationales (Brush and Turner 1987:33–34). What undergirds this work is the belief that the state of agriculture (and hence of land use) at any time and place is a product of farmer motives and rationales as the opportunities and constraints of the physical environment are assessed. Land use is obviously more than the product of human behavior, for it is intimately tied to the physical environment. Similar social, political, and economic conditions of decision making in dissimilar physical environments usually yield different land uses (Brookfield 1972). Environment mediates and conditions land use.

Contemporary geographic research on land use in the have-not world examines small areas from two perspectives. Microgeographies of land use focus on individual households and recognize the role of indigenous agricultural knowledge (particularly in microlevel manipulations of environments) and the importance of the structure of the household production unit (Rocheleau 1989). Land use is a function of the resources available to a household, and gender-based access to land or control of agriculture inputs in minispaces will affect overall land-use patterns. Regional assessments of land-use patterns, on the other hand, follow from comparative studies of these same themes at broader scales of aggregation; regions are bounded by socioeconomic and environmental contexts (Parry, Carter, and Konjin 1988).

The emphasis on studies of smaller areas has not followed solely from the pragmatics of research; it also reflects underlying views about the best ways to understand and explain nature-society relationships. At least three views favor microapproaches: (1) historians and humanists argue that complete understanding of land uses and their changes, the human "ways of belonging to an ecosystem," is best achieved "at the local level, where they become most visible" (Cronon 1983:12,14); (2) an emerging interest in melding various forms of social theory with nature-society relationships also brings analysis to the microlevel in order to capture the hermeneutics involved (Zimmerer 1990; Bebbington, in press); and (3) dissatisfaction with the metatheories of the nature-society relationship has led many practitioners to opt for midrange conceptualizations—those applicable to broad socioeconomic conditions mediated by local factors (Kates 1987; Turner 1989b). They have apparently accepted the argument that metatheory applied at macrospatial scales may lead to generalizations of questionable utility, while microapproaches alone may lead to no generalizations at all (Merton 1967).

These geographic approaches to nature and society employ a full palette to paint the richness of context, and they have added the variability of context to theories that hold much of context constant. They have typically stopped short of penetrating other important aspects of land-use understanding, especially

the broader sociopolitical forces that structure conditions within which land-use decisions are made. Such forces typically originate outside the areas being studied and are linked to broad and even global elements of society that are not readily captured in theories of the microscale or the midrange.

Globalizing the Relationship. A global perspective pulls nature-society geographies from micro- and mesoscales to a macro view. Conceptually, Wallerstein's influence is again an appropriate point of departure, although precursors for the analysis of land use exist, such as the extension by geographers of von Thünen's land-use principles and patterns to transcontinental scales (Peet 1969). Much of the recent discourse has centered on "the intersection of world political economy and local processes of access to and struggle over resources" (Watts 1989:11). Colonialism, global capitalism, and underdevelopment have offered extremely limited and biased choices to smallhold farmers, usually in a context disadvantageous to them (Blaikie 1985; Wisner 1988). The influence of this work has exceeded what would be expected given the small number of geographers addressing questions of Third World agriculture, which suggests the degree to which this aspect of agriculture has been overlooked in the past. To be sure, local and regional inequities that influence land use have received considerable attention, but they are considered mere mediating influences on global forces such as the spread of capitalism and commodity production. Smallholders in the have-not world operate under structural constraints that deny them choice, leading to the dual behavior described above that drives land use and land-use change.

These macroperspectives shunt the principal questions of nature-society relationships away from individual or group activity within a socioeconomic structure to the evolution and nature of that structure itself, to the changing nature of global capitalism as it reconfigures ways to extract profit from smallholders. For nature-society geographies in general, this global emphasis runs the danger of so submerging the local beneath the global that contextual elements operative at the microscale—especially the physical environment—disappear from view. Globalism courts the excesses of holism just as much as the behavioral approach risks those of aggregation.

A second kind of global interest is also emerging—that of environmental change, with a major emphasis on global land-use transformations (Wolman and Fournier 1987; Kates et al. 1990). It focuses both on the human forces that lead to land-use changes that in turn ultimately affect the global environment, and on human responses to the environmental impacts that follow. Two kinds of global change are considered, differing in the scales of immediate operation (Turner et al. 1990). *Systemic change* affects a fluid physical system that operates globally. Examples include climate, the composition of the atmosphere, and sea level. Systemic change has worldwide impacts, even though the human sources of impact may be quite concentrated spatially and even though impacts

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will be felt differently in different places. *Cumulative change* is localized in its reach. It can be termed global when it attains a worldwide spatial distribution or a globally significant magnitude. Examples include soil loss or degradation, mineral resource depletion, and water withdrawal and pollution.

Critical to understanding both kinds of change are the roles given to human macroforces. The subject has not been tackled by the geographic community, although the candidate forces (population change, technological change, economic organization, and political structure) are well known and have been explored through a number of nature-society studies undertaken at local to mesoscales (Hecht and Cockburn 1989). An emerging issue is the effect that globally systemic human forces (e.g., the international oil market) will have on global environmental change. Most discussion to date has been speculative. Empirical demonstration of global-scale relationships—for example, between major forms of national political structure and the degree of deforestation or amount of carbon dioxide released—is absent beyond truisms such as the links between the rise of world population or per capita consumption and increasing land transformations. There is good reason to believe that such relationships, if found, will be tenuous at best and of little use in addressing the problem. Thus far, the significance of the macroforces that underpin others or form the basis from which mediating or conditioning forces can be added remains in the same speculative limbo as that described for macroconceptual themes of globalization.

Here Clark (1987) offers valuable insights about some of the broader ways to tackle problems of scale in environmental change. Identifying the space-time scales at which particular sets of phenomena processes operate and "mapping" them (fig. 12.3) illustrates the scale problems in the linkage of climatic, ecological, and social phenomena processes. Such exercises may help resolve scale issues in geography, particularly if the phenomena and processes are mapped against the scales of explanatory themes.

Scale need not be a barrier to understanding, but it has functioned as one in nature-society geographies. How much of this barrier is inherent in the subject and how much in the biases of its students remains to be seen. The need for a more complete understanding of the nature-society relationships that link the local to the global has been recognized but little explored. Attempts have been made to address land degradation in the have-not world from a perspective that purports to bridge the several local-to-global approaches, but because "land degradation has occurred in such a wide variety of social and ecological circumstances, it is clearly futile to search for a uni-causal model of explanation" (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987:4). Macro- and microforces in similar socioeconomic and environmental circumstances play different roles. An ambitious undertaking indeed, the Blaikie and Brookfield volume illuminates the conceptual disjunctures and inconsistencies that follow from bottom-up (micro to macro) or top-down (macro to micro) approaches; it stresses the need to nest different

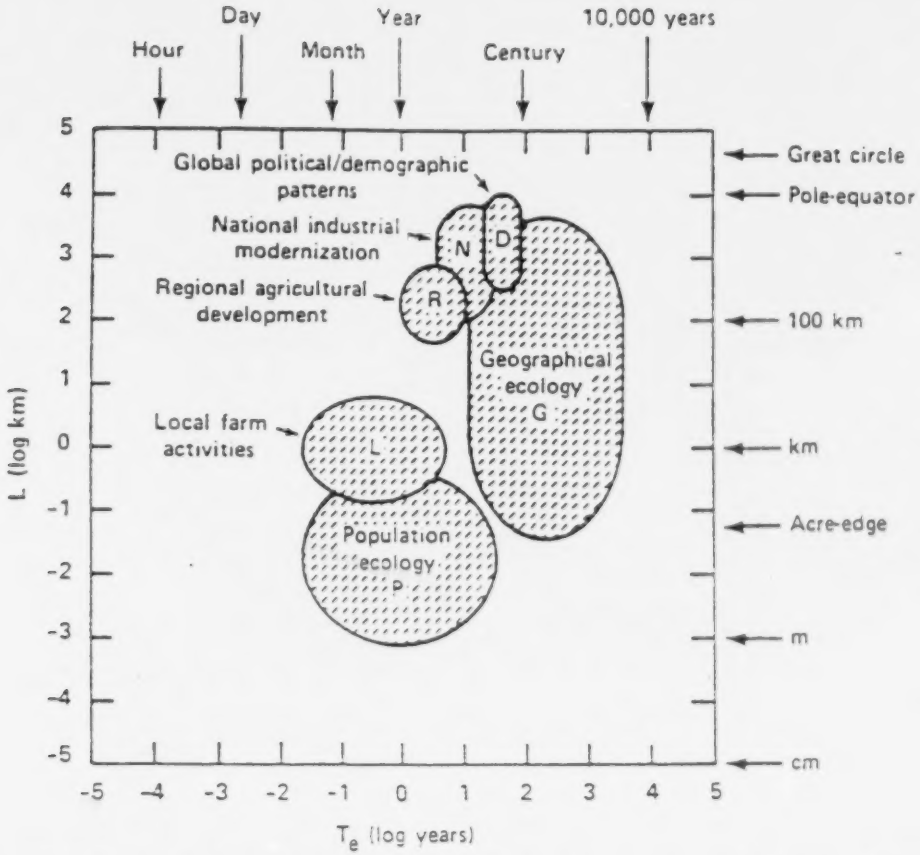

Fig. 12.3. Spatial Scales of Interacting Nature-Society Phenomena and Processes. SOURCE: Clark 1987. Used by permission of Kluwer Academic Publishers.

explanations at different scales, and it returns us to the assessments made in the mid–twentieth century (McCarty, Hook, and Knos 1956:16) with an enlarged and enriched appreciation of the conceptual, substantive, and technical challenges of scale disjunctures.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND THE SCALE CONTINUUM

When the temporal-spatial range of environmental objects is considered (fig. 12.4), three critical facts emerge. First, natural objects of interest to physical geographers occur over a range of spatial scales spanning fifteen orders of magnitude or more. Second, the basic objects of study occur at somewhat different spatial scales in each of the earth systems—atmospheric phenomena considered important tend to be larger than those of the lithosphere surface and the biosphere. A mesoscale study in synoptic climatology, for example, might involve analysis of a regional drought affecting 10^5 to 10^6 km^2,

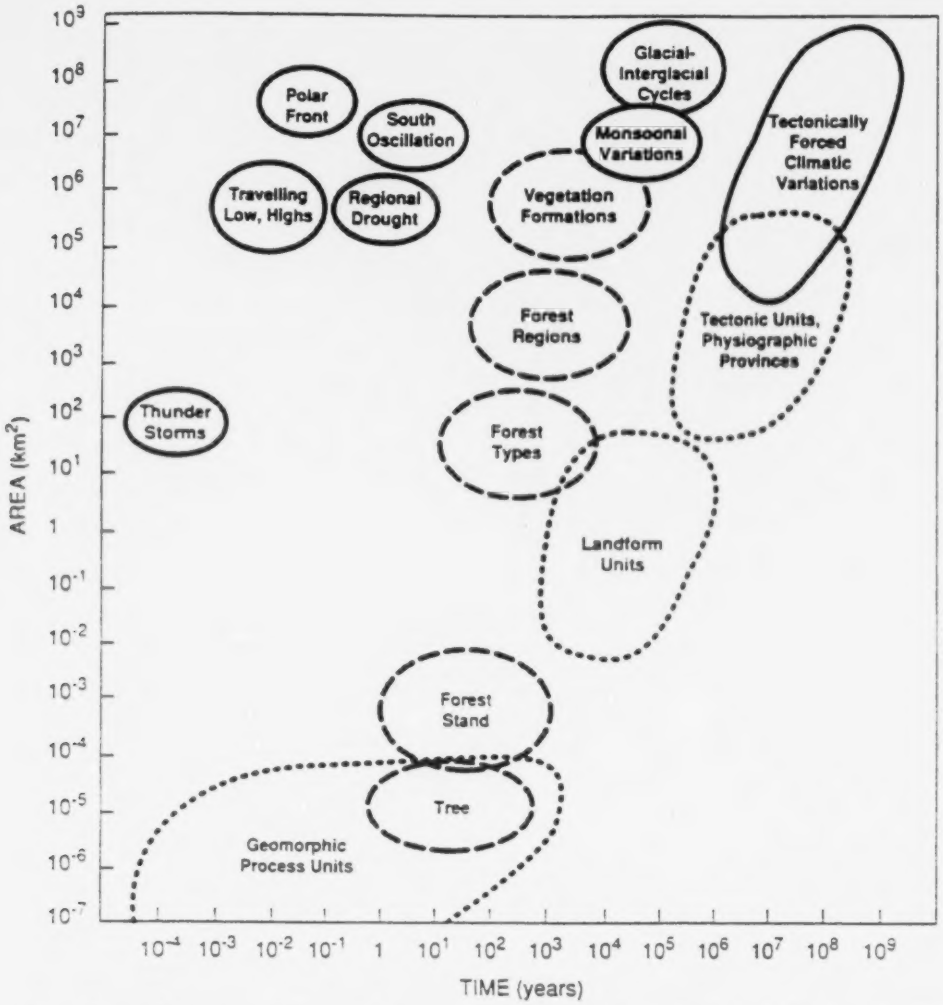

Fig. 12.4. Some Important Features of the Atmosphere, Biosphere, and Lithosphere Shown in Space-Time. SOURCE: Based on McDowell, Webb, and Bartlein 1990:144, 151, 155. Climatic units are shown by solid outlines, ecological units by dashed outlines, and geomorphic units by dotted lines. Ecological terms are functional rather than spatial in concept (Allen and Hoekstra 1990), but because only one ecological system (forest vegetation) is represented here, relative scale differences can be shown.

a mesoscale study in geomorphology might focus on a watershed of 10^1 to 10^3 km², and a mesoscale study in biogeography might focus on a forest stand of 10^{-1} km². Third, within the three earth systems—atmosphere, biosphere, and lithosphere—spatial and temporal scales of variation are related; larger entities tend to vary over longer temporal scales. Whereas spatial scales tend in human geography to be linked with conceptual scales, in physical geography the choice of a spatial scale to some extent focuses attention on processes that vary over a corresponding temporal scale.

Because phenomena of interest occur over such a wide range of scales,

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physical geographers, more than human geographers, have always worked at multiple scales. At any one time, however, research tends to focus on a particular range of scales. As physical geography has developed, this range has shifted from large-scale to small-scale to large-scale. Scale shifts in each of the subfields of physical geography are individualistic, driven by technical developments as well as by intrinsic and extrinsic theoretical developments.

Scales in the Practice of Physical Geography

In geomorphology as in human geography, the regional scale was dominant during the early part of the twentieth century (K. Gregory 1985). Regional-scale interests derived from the influence of William Morris Davis and his followers, who focused on questions of the long-term evolution of regional landscapes. Starting in the 1950s, explanation in geomorphology shifted away from the Davisian approach toward understanding the mechanics and dynamics of specific, small-scale geomorphic processes (K. Gregory 1985). Although a shift in time scales (from historical explanations to contemporary process explanations) is usually emphasized, a shift in spatial scales clearly occurred simultaneously. What caused this shift in spatial scale of research? One factor was the need to make direct field measurements of form and process rates. As a result, measurement capabilities constrained the spatial scale to specific sites or localities; the temporal scale was held to correspondingly short spans. Only contemporary processes can be directly measured. One researcher suggested that the attractions of quantitative field measurement and analysis may have propelled this scale shift more than did the rationale behind the use of those techniques (Gardner 1983). Another factor promoting scale reduction is that as spatial scale increases, complexity increases. The search for basic physical understanding, in fact, often leads in a progressively reductionist direction (Richards 1990).

Geomorphology as practiced today is eclectic and is not limited exclusively to microscale process studies. Process geomorphology includes both microscale studies of process units (e.g., stream channel features, slopes, and beach profiles) and mesoscale studies of landform units (e.g., small-to-large drainage basins and littoral cells). Another important theme at the mesoscale is drainage network analysis. In Quaternary geomorphology—the study of environmental influences over the last two million years—regional-scale studies are relatively common (Marston 1989). At present, there is relatively little work by American geomorphologists in the new field of megageomorphology (Gardner and Scoging 1983; Bridges 1990).

In the early twentieth century ecology and biogeography were dominated by the work of Clements on plant succession and plant formations (Viles 1988). While plant succession occurs on a time scale much shorter than that of Davisian landscape evolution, plant formations occur at a spatial scale similar

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to that of Davisian landscapes (see fig. 12.4). By the middle of the twentieth century, biogeography in U.S. geography departments was relatively inactive but focused on human-biota interactions and vegetation mapping. In the late twentieth century, activity has increased, with a trend toward more small-scale studies (Veblen 1989). Currently, some important themes in biogeography include vegetation dynamics and vegetation-environment relations, ecosystem structure and function, Quaternary paleoecology, and human-biota interactions. Studies at the microscale to the small end of the mesoscale appear from Veblen's review (1989) to be numerically dominant in the field as a whole. Like geomorphology, much of modern biogeography involves direct field sampling by the researcher, thereby limiting the spatial scale of projects that can be attempted.

Early climatology research was descriptive. It focused on climatic classification of sites and spatial patterns of climate at the scale of regions (K. Gregory 1985). Through time, focus shifted from description to explanation of large-scale patterns in response to both technical and conceptual developments. Today, hemispheric-scale to global-scale questions are much more important, although microclimatology also remains an active field. The development of the radiosonde produced consistent, large-scale data sets, and developments in the mathematical theory of atmospheric circulation allowed weather and climate at a station to be explained in terms of the dynamics of primary and secondary circulation features. These theories and observations form the basis of modern synoptic and dynamic climatology. At a variety of small spatial scales, geographers have also focused on the role of landscape and human activities in the energy and water balances at the earth's surface (Miller 1977; Oliver et al. 1989).

From Microscale to Macroscale

As physical geographers have become more confident of their concepts and techniques at the microscale (site scale), two forces are drawing attention back to the meso- to macroscales. First, there is a growing understanding of the interaction of factors across different scales. Questions defined and answered at one spatial scale may omit important relationships and controls that operate at other scales, and longer-term history may influence processes that are defined and studied at short time scales. In ecology, for example, species diversity at a site may be controlled not only by local-scale factors such as competition and environment but also by large-scale factors such as regional diversity (Ricklefs 1987). Regional diversity is largely the result of history on Quaternary or longer time scales, so controls are multiscale in time as well as in space. Indeed, there may be networks of interacting controls at different scales, and the relative importance of micro- and macroscale controls themselves may vary spatially and temporally (Baker 1989). Rather than focusing

solely on microscale controls, microscale process studies should be preceded by analyses that consider controlling factors operating over a range of spatial scales (Phillips 1986).

Second, explanations of landscape-scale phenomena are held by most geomorphologists (Church et al. 1985) and by many biogeographers (Veblen 1989) to be the basic goals of research. In geomorphology, however, it is widely recognized that this aim is not presently being achieved. Many geomorphologists have called for integrating microscale, short-term process studies into explanations of larger-scale, longer-term regional landscape development (Gardner 1983; Bridges 1990; Richards 1990), but this integration is not easy (Mark 1980; Thorn 1982). It has been attempted, for example, in Quaternary stratigraphic studies and through space-for-time substitutions. The former in some cases do not adequately resolve temporal details, and the latter are theoretically flawed in most applications (Church and Mark 1980).

Major theoretical barriers may impede the integration of microscale understanding into landscape-scale explanations. Schumm and Lichty (1965) point out that the causal roles of various geomorphic variables are scale-dependent: characteristics that function as dependent variables at one time scale may be independent variables at shorter time scales. Schumm and Lichty's analysis in the time domain has corollaries in the spatial domain (Baker 1989), and the analysis can be extended from geomorphology to climatology and ecology (McDowell, Webb, and Bartlein 1990). Explanations based on observations at one scale cannot casually be transferred to another scale, and scale must be quantified as rigorously as possible. On the other hand, the time-dependence of variable status is not "a part of the inherent nature of the system. Rather, the effect is an artifact of statistical sampling . . . [or] is caused by a spatiotemporal stratification of sampling" (Montgomery 1989:56). Long-term history is the result of systems operating under the same physical laws as those that underlie small-scale, contemporary explanations of geomorphic processes. Despite such assertions, scale transference has not been accomplished extensively to date.

And despite the lack of a clear theoretical road map for extending microscale understanding to the macroscale, geomorphologists increasingly are attempting it. Three recent examples illustrate the variety of approaches they use. In a study of stream system response to climatic change at the 10^3- to 10^4-year time scale, Knox (1983) evaluated competing qualitative theories using three kinds of criteria: consistency with physical processes known from smaller-scale studies, comparison of their predictions to empirical data, and consistency in the spatial and temporal scales of behavior of the controls and the response. Currey (1990) suggested that records of Pleistocene closed-basin lakes be related to paleoclimatic and other paleoenvironmental changes by using a series of conceptual and semiquantitative models of lake response to various physical controls. Those models, in combination with stratigraphic data, can be used to

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pose hypotheses of past processes for testing against further stratigraphic and paleoenvironmental evidence. Morris and Olyphant (1990) adopted a combined physical modeling and empirical approach to explain spatial development of alpine lithofacies (moraines, rock glaciers, talus) at the regional scale. Based on local-scale process studies, they developed and parameterized a process model simulating talus and rock glacier development at a site as a function of time and varying microclimate. They then used the model to simulate development of lithofacies over a hypothetical three-thousand–year sequence of climatic conditions. A next step would be to test their model's performance against empirical data from one or more sites. These examples show a variety of approaches to integrating analysis at different scales, from conceptual schemes to quantitative models of physical processes. Empirical historical data are critical at all scales because these data provide the means for testing process models, and process studies are in turn critical in that they provide the means of formulating the models. Implicit in the work of Knox and Currey is the possibility of using historical data bases for regions or continents to evaluate the effects of controls such as climate that operate at large spatial scales.

Global Change and Scale Integration

A new impetus for scale integration in environmental science has emerged in recent years. The threat of human-induced modification of climate has resulted in the development of the new interdisciplinary field of global change and highlighted the importance of scale in geographic research. The natural science aspects of global change research focus on understanding interconnections between large-scale features of the atmosphere, hydrosphere (especially oceans and ice), land surface, and biosphere, and on predicting effects of large-scale variations in these systems. Since the late 1970s, remarkable progress has been made in understanding these large-scale processes (Prell and Kutzbach 1987; Broecker and Denton 1989; Intergovernmental Panel 1990). The greatest challenge in predicting effects of variations is to integrate across scales in the opposite direction from that described above. That is, increased understanding of climate variations on large spatial scales and over long time spans must be able to predict regional and local impacts.

In addition to its focus on the problem of near-future climatic change, global-change research has also influenced research on environmental change on long time scales. A major tool of global-change research has been global circulation models (GCMs) of the atmosphere and atmosphere-oceans. Empirical data on Quaternary paleoenvironmental conditions at specific times are used for model verification (COHMAP Members 1988). In addition, GCM simulations of past climate at specific times have been used to formulate independent hypotheses of climatic processes that can be tested using empirical geomorphic, ecologic, and hydrologic data (Kutzbach and Wright 1985; Bart-

lein and others, in press). GCM simulations can provide more specific resolution of seasonal climate and precipitation vs. temperature changes than was usually possible using paleoenvironmental data alone. In addition, this approach eliminates the problem of circularity in testing paleoecological reconstructions with paleoecological data. As a result, it will be possible to advance understanding of the long term behavior of biotic systems (Bartlein and Prentice 1989), geomorphic systems, and hydrologic systems.

The use of GCMs in global change assessments provides another example of the importance of linking different scales. On the one hand, the further development of GCMs will require global-scale data on microscale processes and on properties such as vertical profiles of leaf area and root density (Sellers and Dorman 1987; Wilson et al. 1987) that currently are known for only a few sites. On the other hand, translating GCM simulations of future climate into regional and local projections will require the development of process models of vegetation, soils, and hydrology (Prentice and Solomon 1991) to supplement those presently available for microclimatology.

Physical geography, like human geography, has suffered from scale disjunctures. The problems persist, but researchers are using a variety of approaches in trying to overcome it. The new field of global change presents an opportunity and a challenge to integrate research across scales; efforts in this area will have payoffs for meso- and microscale understanding as well.

THINKING GLOBALLY AND ACTING LOCALLY

The environmentalist injunction to think globally and act locally is as daunting in practice as it is appealing in principle. Yet if disjunctures in scale pose problems, they also offer opportunities. The persistent and growing attention given to the issues posed by the spatial-scale continuum testifies to their importance. We have raised some of these issues and resolved none. Note, however, that while scale issues have at times acted as barriers to understanding by isolating geographers with particular spatial, temporal, and conceptual scales from one another, they need not do so. Each new phase of interest leaves geographers conceptually richer if not disciplinarily wiser.

Geographers are unlikely to abandon their interest in the micro-to-macro continuum of spatial scales. Nevertheless, the persistence of the regional/mesoscale focus and the consistency with which geographers return to it after forays into other scales reflect more than tradition—the return to the mesoscale is recognition that it offers a meeting ground for the local and global poles of empirical research. Through that recognition, geographers will preserve the insights gained at the extremes of the scale spectrum and, ideally, move more nimbly up and down the continuum. The risk they run is that of finding a

comfortable resting place in the mesoscale, and remaining so grounded there that they never grasp the levels of understanding found at either end. The challenge to geography is to devise a means for embedding the local and the global in the regional.

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*Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery: Elections, Equality, and the Minimal Human Being**

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This article makes three arguments in an effort to help explain the remarkable growth of democracy over the last two centuries. It argues, first, that democracy is really quite a simple idea, that it can come into existence quite naturally, and that even elections are not necessary for it to take effect. Second, it holds that democracy has been able to become established and accepted because, despite the assertions of many of its advocates, in practice it has little to do with political equality—indeed, effectively it relies on, and celebrates, political inequality. And, third, it suggests that one of democracy's great strengths is that it does not demand much of people and that it can function quite well with the minimal human being. The article concludes by briefly contrasting democracy with its competitors.

Despite several major setbacks and despite severe, dedicated competition, democracy has gradually grown in acceptance over the last 200 years until it presently dominates the developed world and seems on a clear upswing in most other areas as well. In many respects, this is quite surprising because, as an idea abstracted from practice, democracy has often initially seemed quite absurd and dangerous to objective evaluators—and quite understandably so. If one looks at what many theoretical formulators have had to say, it would appear that democracy would bring about a vast leveling and require that government be run by demagogues and the incompetent.

At the start, therefore, democracy was mostly something one read about in books, particularly ones that dealt with the tiny city-states of ancient Greece. The notion that such a system for governance should or could be established in large, diverse countries seemed quite preposterous to those who troubled to think about it at all. As Robert Dahl has put it, "Most people took it as a matter of self-evident good sense that the idea of applying the democratic process to the government of the nation-state was foolish and unrealistic" (1989, 328).

The success of the idea of democracy, then, was by no means predestined or inevitable. However, when democracy began to be put into practice, it proved to be not nearly as terrible as most people had anticipated. It actually worked rather well: it did not require an absurd leveling; it mostly eschewed demagogues; and in general it managed, somehow, to select leaders who were often rather capable.

In this article, I make three arguments about democracy in an effort to help

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explain its remarkable growth over the last two centuries. I argue, first, that democracy is really quite a simple idea, that it can come into existence quite naturally, and that even elections are not necessary for it to take effect. Second, I hold that democracy has been able to become established and accepted because, despite the assertions of many of its advocates, in practice it has very little to do with political equality—indeed, effectively it relies on, and celebrates, political inequality. And, third, I suggest that one of democracy's great strengths is that it does not demand much of people and that it can function quite well with the minimal human being. I conclude by briefly contrasting democracy with its competitors.

Democracy, Responsive Government, and Elections

The crucial element in most definitions of democracy is that the government be responsive—that it be, in Abraham Lincoln's classic phrase, "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Thus, Robert Dahl says, "I assume that a key characteristic of a democracy is the continued responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals" (1971, 1), and William Riker concludes that "democracy is a form of government in which the rulers are fully responsible to the ruled in order to realize self-respect for everybody" (1965, 31). Or, in H. L. Mencken's irreverent words, democracy is "the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard" (1920b, 203). Authoritarian governments can sometimes be responsive as well. But their responsiveness depends on the will and the mindset of the leadership. By contrast, democracy is *routinely, necessarily* responsive: because people are free to develop and use peaceful methods to criticize, pressure, and replace the leadership, the leaders must pay attention.

Most discussions of democracy, including Dahl's and Riker's, emphasize elections as a device to make this responsiveness happen—indeed, Riker argues that "the essential democratic institution is the ballot box and all that goes with it" (1965, 25). Some, like Samuel Huntington, assert elections into their very definition of democracy.[1] But it really does seem that if citizens have the right to complain, to petition, to organize, to protest, to demonstrate, to strike, to threaten to emigrate, to shout, to publish, to express a lack of confidence, to bribe, and to wheedle in back corridors, government will tend to respond to the

[1]Following what he calls "Schumpeterian tradition," Huntington (1991, 29n) defines "a twentieth-century political system as democratic to the extent that its most powerful collective decision-makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote." As discussed more fully below, this definition, with its entangling obsession with elections and mass suffrage, is very demanding and would exclude everything known as a democracy before the twentieth century, as he suggests, as well as very many putative democracies during it.

sounds of the shouters and the importunings of the wheedlers; that is, it will necessarily become responsive whether there are elections or not.

Essentially, *democracy—government that is necessarily responsive—takes effect when people agree not to use violence to overthrow the government and when the government leaves them free to criticize, to pressure, and to try to replace it by any other means.* And there are, in fact, plenty of nonviolent methods for removing officeholders besides elections. Governments often topple or are effectively threatened by scandal, legal challenge, street protest, embarrassment, bribery, economic boycott or slowdown, threats to emigrate, and loss of confidence.

The addition of elections to this panoply of devices may sometimes change policy outcomes, and it probably makes the enterprise more efficient because elections furnish a specific, clearly visible, and direct method for replacing officeholders. Elections—fair and free ones, at any rate—also make the process more just, at least by some standards, because they extend participation to those who only care enough about what is going on to meander to the polls every few years to pull a few levers or make a few *X*'s (though the weight of an individual's vote on policymaking is so small that the act of voting is scarcely a rational use of one's time) and because they give a bit of potential clout to those who do not vote but could if sufficiently riled or inspired.

But most of what democratic governments actually do on a day-by-day basis is the result of pressure and petition—lobbying, it is called—not of elections, whose policy message is almost always ambiguous and often utterly undecipherable. Petitioners can sometimes use the threat of elections, implied or otherwise, to influence officeholders. And in some democracies contributions toward campaign expenses can help petitioners to facilitate access or to affect policy—a phenomenon that many see as a perversion. But the essential interaction between government and citizenry would take place without elections if the right of petition is viable and if people have the right to devise methods to pressure officials.

In fact, there are many cases where people excluded from participation in elections have nevertheless profoundly affected policy if they had the right to petition and protest. A prime instance is the nineteenth-century feminist movement which achieved many of its goals—including eventually votes for women—even though the vast majority of its members were excluded from the electorate. Similarly, people between the ages of 18 and 21 were active and successful in a movement to get the voting age lowered in the United States. As these experiences demonstrate, it is absurd to suggest that people who are not allowed to vote can have no impact on public policy.

Moreover, there exist cases of what might be called democracies without elections: Mexico and Hong Kong. People go to the polls in Mexico, of course, but the ruling party carefully counts the ballots and for decades, curiously

enough, never lost an election. In Hong Kong, the government is appointed from afar. Yet in both places, people are free to petition and protest, and the governments can be said, in a quite meaningful sense, to be responsive to the will and needs of the population.[2] Elections might shade or reshape policy in one way or another (particularly in Hong Kong over the issue of reunification with China), and democrats would undoubtedly deem the result to be more just, but the essential responsiveness is already there.[3]

Looked at this way, democracy is at base a fairly simple thing—even a rather natural one. If people feel something is wrong, they will complain about it; and some of the complainers will naturally be led to organize and to try to convert others to their point of view. People do not need to be encouraged or coaxed; nor do they first need to be imbued with the democratic spirit or achieve a high degree of development or literacy. They will just *do* it. This is suggested by the way the Bill of Rights is worded in the U.S. Constitution. Nowhere does it admonish citizens to complain or to lobby: rather, it restrains the government from restricting their ability to do so. The framers were well aware that complaint and pressure would emerge naturally, without any encouragement from the government.

Unless this natural tendency is artificially stifled, and unless the complainers resort to violence to get their point of view across, democracy will take effect. What is unnatural is to try to *stop* people from complaining. This requires a lot of work: thought police and informers and dossiers and orgahized social pressure.

The argument can be put another way. If the freedom to speak, organize, and petition is respected, responsiveness happens, and democracy comes into view even without elections. But if one has elections—even competitive ones—without the freedom to speak, organize, and petition, few would call the resulting enterprise democratic.

Stressing petition, rather than elections, as the essence of democracy, leads, I think, to a cleaner definitional view of the subject. By insisting on the

[2]Although they are fully aware of Mexico's electoral defects and although they document the fact that Mexicans are equally aware of these defects, Almond and Verba have no difficulty accepting Mexico as a functioning democracy in a classic study (1963).

[3]In Hong Kong, rulers have traditionally been sensitive to vigilant and entrenched business elites who, in turn, helped to keep the rest of the population docile, reasonably content, and politically apathetic. When the government signed a treaty in 1984 promising to hand the colony over to China in 1997, however, much of this traditional apathy was quickly shrugged off as treaty opponents screamed loudly, organized pressure groups, signed petitions, staged mass demonstrations, and pointedly threatened to emigrate. An authoritarian government would have responded by suppressing the protest and jailing its leaders. In Hong Kong, the rulers acted like democrats: they listened, and they tried to mollify and coopt the liberal protest movement by giving in to some of its demands and by letting it compete for some previously appointed leadership positions. When the liberals did well in this competition, the government further responded by replacing some of its hardline appointees with apolitical professionals (see Scott 1989; Mosher 1991).

importance of elections, one is almost automatically forced to consider the scope of suffrage, and one can be led in absurd consequence to conclude that, because of the exclusion of women and other adults from the electorate, democracy did not exist before this century anywhere in the world and that it did not emerge in Switzerland until 1971. But countries with limited suffrage have clearly often acted and felt like democracies as have places like Mexico and Hong Kong, where elections have been fraudulent or nonexistent. At the same time, severe restrictions on the rights of speech and petition (as well as the vote) of blacks in the U.S. South for much of its history and in South Africa for almost all of its, suggest that those areas could not be considered democracies by either standard.

Democracy and Political Inequality

Throughout history most democrats have accepted the notion that all people are created equal as an essential part of their intellectual baggage. Some have done so with such vigor and passion that antidemocrats have been thoroughly justified in concluding that democrats not only believe in equality but that equality is truly central to the democratic system. As Plato put it mockingly long ago, democracy is "a pleasant constitution . . . distributing its peculiar kind of equality to equals and unequals impartially" (1957, 316).

Antidemocrats have burlesqued the equality theme because it seems to suggest that democracy would require an enormous and ridiculous leveling—indeed, some of the earliest democratic activists were called Levellers. Plato envisioned democracy as a rather random affair in which people "share citizenship and office on equal terms" and office is "given by lot" (1957, 314).[4] In the comic opera *The Gondoliers*, W. S. Gilbert lets a couple of democrats jointly inherit a kingdom. Unwilling to abandon their "Republican fallacies," they determine that in their kingdom "all shall equal be," whether they be the Lord High Bishop Orthodox, the Lord High Coachman on the box, or the Lord High Vagabond in the stocks. Accordingly they establish "a despotism strict combined with absolute equality," in which as monarchs they spend their day variously making proclamations, polishing the plate, receiving deputations, and running little errands for the ministers of state.

In modern practice, however, democracy has not looked anything like that. It came to be associated with a special, and perhaps rather minimal, form of political equality, the kind usually called equality of opportunity. In a democracy all people are free—that is, equally unfettered as far as the government is concerned—to develop their own potential, to speak their minds, and to organize to promote their interests peacefully. As Riker concludes, "Equality is simply insistence that liberty be democratic, not the privilege of a class" (1965, 20). And when John Locke concludes that "all men by nature are equal," he defines

[4]Many Greek democrats did, in fact, envision democracy this way (see Dahl 1989, 19).

equality as "that equal right that every man hath, to his natural freedom, without being subjected to the will or authority of any other man" and goes out of his way to point out that such attributes as age, virtue, and merit might give some a "just precedency" (1970, 322). Thus, *political equality is something that evolves without much further ado when people are free—it is subsumed by, dependent upon, and indistinguishable from, liberty.*[5] That is, if people are free, they are, as far as democracy is concerned, politically equal as well.

It is true that each member of the electorate in modern democracies has more or less the same voting strength at the ballot box.[6] However, as noted in the previous section, the political importance of an individual is not very significantly determined by this circumstance, and therefore political inequality effectively prospers: some people are, in fact, more equal than others. A store clerk has the same weight in an election as the head of a big corporation or a columnist for the *Washington Post*, but it would be absurd to suggest they are remotely equal in their ability to affect and influence government policy.

Initially, this freedom (and hence equality) of opportunity focused on class distinction, and it made democracy subversive of hereditary class as it relates to politics: the pool from which leaders are chosen is widened to include everybody, and all are free to participate if they choose to do so. As the author of the American Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson is responsible for the most famous expression of the notion that "all men are created equal." But in other writings, he made it clear that, far from supplanting distinction, democracy merely replaces one form of distinction with another. Rather than having "an artificial aristocracy, founded on wealth and birth," he pointed out, a democracy would be ruled by "a natural aristocracy" based on "virtue and talents" (1939, 126–27).

Unlike authoritarian systems, therefore, the political weight of individuals in a democracy is not rigidly bifurcated by class or by ideological test. One is free to try to increase one's political importance by working in politics or by supplying money in appropriate places, or one can reduce it by succumbing to apathy and neglecting even to vote.

In practice, then, *democracy is a form of government in which the individual is left free to become politically unequal*. That is, the actual working out of the

[5]On this issue, see also Riker (1982, 7–8). Sometimes it simply means equality before the law (Riker 1982, 14–15). Thus, an aristocrat who killed someone in a drunken brawl would be held as accountable as a commoner who did so. But it seems entirely feasible to have that sort of legal equality under an authoritarian system: it might have been achieved as much in Nazi Germany or Communist Russia as in democratic England or America.

[6]Technically this is not always accurate even in advanced democracies. A resident of an underpopulated state like Wyoming has a substantially greater voting weight in national elections than a resident of New York or California.

process encourages people to explore, develop, and express their differences, not to suppress them: democratic individualism, in fact, is in many respects the antithesis of the kind of equality that Plato and Gilbert ridiculed. The implications of the noises made by some democratic enthusiasts, therefore, have not been borne out in practice. Indeed, as E. M. Forster has suggested, one of the great appeals of democracy as it has actually been practiced is that, far from assuming everyone is alike or equally capable, it admits, and even celebrates, variety: people are different and thus unequal (1951). Democracy does not level; it has proved to be remarkably tolerant of differences, diversity, inequality, and even of studied eccentricity. It is among the least conformist and least uniform of systems: it not only tolerates inequality, it fairly revels in it.

Another way to look at all this would be as follows. Opposition and petitioning cost time and money. Democracy takes effect when the government does not increase this cost by harassing or jailing the petitioners and the opposition, or by imposing additional economic or other sanctions on them. The costs of opposition and petition are not equal because some people have more time, money, or relevant skills than others. Elections do have something of an equalizing effect because the cost of this form of political expression is much the same for everybody. However, the political impact of a single vote is so small that, unless one gets a psychological charge out of the act, it makes little sense to go through the exercise.

Political inequality, in fact, has enabled democracy to survive a defect that many thought would be devastating if ever the system were put into practice on a large scale. Opponents of democracy have historically viewed the institution as one in which demagogues mesmerize and bribe the masses and then rule as bloody tyrants. Assuming that numbers were all that mattered in a democracy, Plato concluded that in a democracy the dominant class, because largest in numbers, would be a group of "idle and dissolute men," some of whom would become leaders, while the remainder would be their ignorant and cowardly followers. He anticipated that the leaders would use their clout to "plunder the propertied classes, divide the spoil among the people, and yet keep the biggest share for themselves" (1957, 325–27).

By and large this has not come about for at least two reasons. First, while it is true that the rich form a minority of the electorate, their money and status can be parlayed into substantial political influence. As suggested, the simple arithmetic of the ballot box is only a portion of the democratic effect—and perhaps not even a necessary one. Elsewhere, a sort of weighted voting takes place, and the rich enjoy influence far out of proportion to their numbers.

And second, as will be discussed more fully in the next section, the poor, the idle, and the dissolute in practice have not shown all the shortsighted stupidity that Plato posited. Resentment of the wealthy may have some short-run

demagogic appeal, but voters have often shown a rough appreciation for the fact that a systematic dismemberment of the propertied class is not all that good for the poor either—or even for the idle.[7]

The result has been that in order *really* to plunder the propertied it has been necessary to abandon democracy—as in China, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, Burma, Iran, Vietnam, revolutionary France, Cambodia. Where the would-be plunderers have remained democratic—as in Sweden—the propertied have been able to hang on to many of their assets and have not felt it necessary to flee.[8]

There is a somewhat more subtle and general effect as well. In practice, if not in Plato's imaginings, democracy gives to property owners a certain confidence that they can protect themselves from arbitrary seizure of their property—or at any rate that they will have recourse if such seizure does take place.[9] Insofar as that confidence is necessary to encourage capitalism and its effects such as economic growth and efficiency, democracy will have an economic leg up on authoritarian regimes—or at least on those of the more absolutist sort.

Democracy and the Minimal Human Being

John F. Kennedy once proclaimed, "Democracy is a difficult kind of government. It requires the highest qualities of self-discipline, restraint, a willingness to make commitments and sacrifices for the general interest, and it also requires knowledge" (1964, 539). From time immemorial, statements like this have raised derisive hoots from antidemocrats, and modern polling data quantitatively confirm their argument: when it comes to either the grand or the narrow issues of politics, the average voter hardly displays such qualities. If Kennedy were right, democracy would be impossible.

As it happens, however, democracy is really quite easy—any dimwit can do it—and it can function remarkably well even when people exhibit little in the way of self-discipline, restraint, commitment, knowledge, or, certainly, sacrifice

[7]On this issue, see also Popkin (1991, 21). Reviewing several recent studies about transitions to democracy, Nancy Bermeo observes, to her dismay, that "in every enduring case, dramatic redistributions of property were postponed, circumscribed, or rolled back" (1990, 365). Marxists and others argue that the working classes support the rich because their minds have been skillfully manipulated such that they have developed a "false consciousness" about their true interests.

[8]A most extreme test of this seems to be on the horizon in South Africa, where a massive expansion of political freedom is likely soon to put those who once ran the system very much into the minority. If the system remains democratic, experience suggests they should be able to hang on to many of their privileges.

[9]The U.S. Constitution, of course, has a specific guarantee against unreasonable seizures of property, but Plato would undoubtedly dismiss such paper provisions, since in a democracy they could easily be overridden at whim by a majority that was sufficiently large and determined—as in fact happened to Japanese-American property owners in the United States during World War II. What is impressive is how comparatively rare such arbitrary seizures have been in democracies.

for the general interest: a system built on perpetual self-sacrifice, in fact, is doomed to eventual failure. Democracy's genius in practice is that it can work even if people rarely, if ever, rise above the selfishness and ignorance with which they have been so richly endowed by their Creator.

Riker's perspective on this seems sound: democracy is characterized not by "popular rule" but by a device that provides for "an intermittent, sometimes random, even perverse, popular veto" that "has at least the potential of preventing tyranny and rendering officials responsive." Riker concedes that this is "a minimal sort of democracy," but he contends that it "is the only kind of democracy actually attainable" (1982, 244–46).[10] Actually, as suggested earlier, Riker is not minimal enough: the potential for rendering officials responsive and for preventing tyranny is already in operation whenever the natural proclivity to complain and to petition for redress goes unstifled or uncurbed.

Assessing the Minimal Human Being

One important reason that attainable, minimal democracy has succeeded is that, as developed and modified over the course of the last 200 years, it has been demonstrated that democracy can function quite well with the minimal human being. In a democracy, people do not need to be good or noble, but merely to calculate their own best interests, and, if so moved, to express them.

One useful perspective on this derives from the British writer and essayist, Sydney Smith. In 1823, eight years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, he penned a letter railing exhaustedly against war in all its vigor, absurdity, and "eloquence." In the process he expressed a yearning for four qualities of a more basic, even mundane, nature: "For God's sake, do not drag me into another war! I am worn down and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind; I must think a little of myself. . . . No war, dear Lady Grey!—no eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic" (1956, 323–24).

In this perspective, people are not incapable of such admirable qualities as compassion, eloquence, nobility, grandeur, altruism, self-sacrifice, and unblinkered obedience. But Smith seems to suggest that these virtues can become excessive and that we might well be better off, more secure, less likely to go astray, if we take it a bit easy: it is possible to rise above apathy, selfishness, common sense, and arithmetic, but it is not necessarily wise to do so. For laid-back liberals of the Smith ilk, human beings are a flawed bunch, and it seems wiser, and certainly less tiring, to work with human imperfections rather than to seek zealously to reform the race into impossible perfection.[11]

[10]However, Riker does argue (somewhat in passing) that "democratic ideals depend on a vigilant citizenry" (1982, 245–46).

[11]For a discussion of this trait in Greek liberalism, see Havelock (1957, 123). "Don't expect too much from human life," admonishes Smith. Rather, have "short views of life—not further than dinner

This perspective holds that, in general, people have in them a strong streak of apathy and will not be readily roused into action. In other words, they will tend to pursue concerns that matter to them personally rather than ones that other people think *should* matter to them. Some people, as it happens, will be quite content to spend their time taking naps, watching television, hanging out on street corners, boozing away the evening, or reading trashy novels rather than pursuing high culture, changing the world, or saving souls.[12] Relatedly, they will be selfish—guided more reliably by their own interests than by perceptions of the general good.

At the same time, however, people do not act randomly but rather apply common sense and arithmetic.[13] That is, they have a canny, if perhaps not terribly sophisticated, ability to assess reality and their own interests and to relate things in a fairly logical and sensible way.[14]

An institution is likely to prove particularly effective if it can be fabricated so that it will function properly even when people exhibit qualities no more exalted than those which emerge in the Smith perspective. Over the last 200 years or so, democracy has worked its way into wide acceptance in the world in part because it has proved to be fundamentally sound in the sense that it does not require more from the human spirit than apathy, selfishness, common sense, and arithmetic. Indeed, in some respects it exalts and revels in these qualities.

This suggests that democracy is not terribly difficult to institute and that no elaborate prerequisites are necessary for it to emerge. This is suggested by the remarkable ease with which various peoples—many of them utterly innocent of democratic experience—took to democracy when it was offered to them in the last decade and a half. It seems likely that democracy can come about rather

or tea," "keep good blazing fires," and "be as much as you can in the open air without fatigue." His definition of "a nice person" suggests that he was not overtaxed by a quest for perfection: "A nice person is clear of little, trumpery passions, acknowledges superiority, delights in talent, shelters humility, pardons adversity, forgives deficiency, respects all men's rights, never stops the bottle, is never long and never wrong, always knows the day of the month, the name of every body at table, and never gives pain to any human being. . . . A nice person never knocks over wine or melted butter, does not tread upon the dog's foot, or molest the family cat, eats soup without noise, laughs in the right place, and has a watchful and attentive eye" (Smith 1956, 201–02).

[12]Sir John Falstaff, who might be seen as a sort of quintessential caricature of the Smith liberal, mutters at one point, "I were better to be eaten to death with a rust than to be scour'd to nothing with perpetual motion."

[13]Smith could work up quite a bit of enthusiasm for arithmetic. As he put it in a letter to a child in 1835: "Lucy, dear child, mind your arithmetic. You know, in the first sum of yours I ever saw, there was a mistake. You had carried two (as a cab is licensed to do) and you ought, dear Lucy, to have carried but one. Is this a trifle? What would life be without arithmetic but a scene of horrors?" (1956, xiii).

[14]On this issue, see the discussion of "low-information rationality" in Popkin (1991).

naturally, almost by default, unless devices and gimmicks are fabricated to suppress it.[15]

The Minimal Human Being and the Demagogue

For millennia antidemocratic theorists and philosophers argued that this is not enough. Democracy, as a method of arranging a government and selecting leaders, is inherently defective, they have insisted, because ordinary people are clearly incompetent to judge grand issues and to choose leaders: their choices will be based on their selfish, shortsighted interests rather than on an informed concern for the general welfare. In particular, the critics have argued that the process is inherently unstable and will generally lead to capricious mob rule often focused on the persecution of the rich, the intellectually superior, and other minorities as dictated by whichever demagogue happens to prove the most seductive at the moment. Even Voltaire, who loved liberty, was unable to believe that ordinary people were capable of making sensible selections. He yearned for rule by enlightened philosopher kings (preferably witty ones), not by the people, who were dismissed by him as "stupid and barbarous" and in need of "a yoke, a cattle prod, and hay" (Chodorow et al. 1989, 609).

Similarly, Plato believed that the only people who ought to rule were those whose "earliest years were given to noble games" and who now give themselves over "wholly to noble pursuits." He anticipated that in a democracy the voters would not share his passion for noble games and, indeed, would be "supremely indifferent as to what life a man has led before he enters politics." Instead, all a politician need do is assert "his zeal for the multitude," and they would be "ready to honor him" (1957, 316). Mencken argued that "the most popular man under a democracy is not the most democratic man, but the most despotic man. The common folk delight in the exactions of such a man. They like him to boss them. Their natural gait is the goose-step" (1920a, 221).

[15]For the argument that for millennia democracy may have been the "natural" and standard form of government among tribes of hunter-gatherers, see Dahl (1989, 232); and Glassman (1986). It seems, in fact, that about all that is required for a country to become a democracy is the more or less general desire to do so. Democracy is essentially a state of mind, not a logical or empirical consequence of other factors. If elites generally come to believe that democracy is the way things ought to be done and if they are not physically intimidated or held in check by authoritarian thugs, the country can quite easily become democratic without any special historical preparation and whatever the state of its social or economic development (see also Dahl 1989, 260–62; 1971, 124–28). Present-day Paraguay seems a spectacular case in point. By the same token, however, the triumph of democracy has been by no means inevitable, and if it had been badly promoted the world might never have adopted it at all. On the other hand, since literacy and modern communications do not seem to be required for a country to become democratic, the world—or substantial portions of it—could have become democratic centuries earlier if the right people at the right time had gotten the idea, had deftly promoted and tested it, and had been graced by the right kind of luck (see Mueller 1989, 1990).

As noted earlier, Plato anticipated that the leaders would use their clout to "plunder the propertied classes, divide the spoil among the people, and yet keep the biggest share for themselves." Bloody tyranny would soon emerge, he felt, because "he who is the president of the people finds a mob more than ready to obey him, and does not keep his hands from the blood of his kindred. He heaps unjust accusations on them—a favorite device—hales them before the courts, and murders them" (1957, 326–28). In *Coriolanus*, set in at least semidemocratic Rome, Shakespeare vividly depicts such a process. A natural leader (whose noble games have included victorious war) is at first honored by the mob. But he is unable to bring himself hypocritically to grovel before them, and soon the people, manipulated by wily demagogues, turn on him and crush him.

That these grim scenarios were not entirely fanciful was demonstrated in the years after the French Revolution of 1789. Democracy there soon degenerated, under Robespierre, into the sort of tyrannical, murderous mobocracy that Plato had envisioned two millennia earlier, and it eventually became associated with an expansionary ideology, with war, and, under Napoleon, with aggressive, continent-wide military conquest.[16]

Thus, the concern has been eminently sensible, and it has been among the key reasons why democracy has been rejected for thousands of years in almost all societies above the village level. Some 200 years ago, however, large democracies came into existence, and it has been found that, in practice, these concerns, so devastating on paper, are, despite the traumatic French example, substantially overdrawn.

It is noteworthy in this regard, that once in authority, the tyrants in France, as well as later ones who came into authority more or less democratically, like Hitler and Mussolini, felt it necessary to abandon democracy in order to maintain control. Wiser than Plato about mobs, they knew that if they left the field free to other rivals, the people might well come to honor a competitor (maybe even one who played noble games in his youth). That is, the notion that masses of people are readily, predictably, and consistently manipulable proved to be naive. As such would-be manipulators as advertisers, public relations specialists, and political candidates could assure Plato, Mencken, or Shakespeare, putting out a product that a free public will buy is uncertain at best. As impresario Sol Hurok is alleged to have said, "If people don't want to come, nothing will stop them."

The agile demagogue/tyrant is aware of the essential validity of a famous, and quite cynical, observation about democracy that has been variously attributed

[16]Jefferson was fully aware of the danger posed by the disastrous French example. As he wrote in 1795, "What a tremendous obstacle to the future attempts at liberty will be the atrocities of Robespierre!" (1939, 279).

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to Abraham Lincoln and to that great showman and prince of ballyhoo and humbug, Phineas T. Barnum. It is perhaps the most profound thing ever said about the institution and the key to an explanation about why, despite its patent defects, democracy more or less works. The observation concludes first that Plato, Mencken, and Shakespeare were right: people in general are so addled that they can *all* sometimes be faked out: "You can fool all the people some of the time." Moreover, some people are so stupid that they will *never* get it right: you can fool "some of the people all the time." What makes anything work, however, is that people, in fact, are *not* equal: somewhere there are a few people at least who will eventually figure it out: "You can't fool all the people all the time."[17]

Of Sydney Smith's minimal virtues—apathy, selfishness, common sense, and arithmetic—Plato and Shakespeare include only one in their characterizations of the masses: selfishness. But while people may be selfish, it turns out they are not simple bundles of erratic passions yearning to break loose at a deft signal from a skilled demagogue. Rather, they retain a basic, if less than masterful, facility for common sense and arithmetic—for thoughtful, if sometimes slow-witted, deliberation, and for relating things in a logical way. They cannot—all of them, anyway—be fooled all the time.

Moreover, they are not necessarily incapable of considering their own long-term interests, rather than just their immediate ones. If they are left free to discuss and argue among themselves, therefore, there is a good chance that they will eventually see through even the most effusive flatteries and the most exquisite fabrications of the most dazzling illusionists.[18] At any rate, as suggested, successful illusionists have been aware of the danger: once in political control they have quickly moved to destroy democracy before it destroys them.

Apathy also plays an important role in making democracy function. It is no easy task to persuade people to agree with one's point of view, but as any experienced demagogue is likely to point out with some exasperation, what is most difficult of all is to get them to listen in the first place. People, particularly those

[17]On the absence of any conclusive evidence that Lincoln ever said this, see Woldman (1950, 74). The connection with Barnum, who is also alleged to have said, "There's a sucker born every minute" (and probably did not—see Saxon 1989, 334–37), could be considered plausible because the two statements are quite congruent and might be seen to spring from the same mentality. In tandem they make up a cautionary tale: there are a lot of suckers who can be fooled all the time, they suggest, but be careful—there are a lot of nonsuckers out there too, and eventually, if left free, they will see through the most artful of frauds and humbugs.

[18]Niccolò Machiavelli, not commonly known as an ardent democrat, was quite confident of this ability: "As to the people's capacity of judging things, it is exceedingly rare that, when they hear two orators of equal talents advocate different measures, they do not decide in favor of the best of the two; which proves their ability to discern the truth of what they hear." In another place, he approvingly quotes Cicero: "The people, although ignorant, yet are capable of appreciating the truth, and yield to it readily when it is presented to them by a man whom they esteem worthy of confidence" (1950, 263, 120).

in a free, open society, are regularly barraged by shysters and schemers, by people with new angles and neglected remedies, by purveyors of panaceas and palliatives. And all of them, *all* of them, use flattery and assert their "zeal for the multitude," in Plato's words. Very few are successful—and even those who do succeed, including Adolf Hitler, owe their success as much to luck as to skill.

One of the great, neglected aspects of free speech is the freedom not to listen. When the stormy Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was forced to leave the Soviet Union for the West, he may have been gratified finally to be in a society where he could freely speak his mind. But he was soon appalled to discover that when he eloquently promulgated his message of warning and deliverance, huge numbers of people were fully prepared, after getting over the novelty of his abrupt appearance in their midst, to fail to heed his song and story. Solzhenitsyn's (1981) message—that Communism was a great, menacing evil—was one his audiences in the West were generally predisposed to agree with. But to his intense frustration, they were not all that anxious to get off their duffs and *do* something about it.

The Tyranny of the Majority

Apathy helps not only with the demagogue problem in democracy, but also with the related problem of the tyranny of the majority. It is not difficult to find a place where the majority harbors a considerable hatred for a minority—indeed, it may be difficult to find one where this is *not* the case. Polls in the United States regularly have found plenty of people who would cheerily restrict homosexuals, atheists, accused Communists, Nazi paraders, flag-burners, and people who like to shout unpleasant words and perpetrate unconventional messages. But it is not easy to get this majority to do anything about it—after all, that would require a certain amount of work.

Mostly, people do not seem to be all that moved by questions of civil liberties, whether the issue is expanding or suppressing them. For example, public opinion data suggest that it is scarcely justified to use the word "hysteria" to characterize the McCarthy era. One poll of the time asked, "What kinds of things worry you most?" Less than 1% mentioned the threat of domestic Communism. Another asked for "some of the things" the president should do "for the good of the country," and only 4% included cleaning out domestic Communism on their list (Mueller 1988, 21). It almost seems that the only time many people even consider the issue is when they are being queried about it in public opinion surveys.

This can be unsettling to intellectuals who study such issues and to philosophers who muse about them. Such pundits have a strong interest in free inquiry, as do members of the democratic political elite who may have concluded that free speech helps preserve their right to speak their minds when out of office and therefore facilitates their potential political resurrection. But most people never say anything that anyone else—even the most paranoid of dictators—would want to suppress. And they really do have other things to worry about, many of them quite pressing from their point of view.

Thus, as a result of apathy and selfishness, people in an important sense are in effect remarkably tolerant—not only of free speech but of efforts to restrict it. For democracies the danger is not so much that agile demagogues will play on hatreds and weaknesses to fabricate a vindictive moblike tyranny of the majority: the perversions of the French Revolution have proved unusual. More to be feared is the tyranny of a few who obtain bland acquiescence from the uninterested, and essentially unaffected, many. That is the path through which democracy is more likely to be subverted.

The Minimal Human Being Chooses and Checks Leaders

Thus, it seems, rule by demagogues and mobs proved essentially inconsistent with democracy, and minorities, if allowed democratic freedoms, have generally been able to protect themselves and to pursue their interests. But it still does not follow that ordinary people will be effective at judging leaders. They may be wily about demagogues, but it could certainly be anticipated that they would tend to promote fellow mediocrities to run things. Democracy has an advantage over monarchy and other authoritarian forms of government in that political and opinion leaders can emerge from anywhere in the population, not simply from a selected class or group. And it also chooses these leaders competitively and subjects them to review. But this process would be of little value if the judges were incompetent.

The amazing thing about democracy is that the selectors and reviewers *are* substantially incompetent, but the process nevertheless generates able, even superior, leaders and tends to keep them responsive and responsible. The system seems to work for the same reason that demagogues are kept in check: You cannot fool all the people all the time. If people remain free to use whatever common sense they choose to muster at the moment to discuss and to argue among themselves, and if they are free to generate competing ideas, there is a good chance they will get it more or less right eventually.[19]

Petitioners and voters may not, on average, exhibit much in the way of nobility of spirit or rich philosophical knowledge, they may often succumb to fits of apathy, and they may tend most reliably to be motivated, at best, by narrow self-interest. Nevertheless, the democratic process seems not only to have kept governments more or less alert and responsive but for the most part it has tended to select good—or pretty good—leaders. There have been mistakes and exasperations and sometimes even disasters. But it can be plausibly argued that

[19]Similarly, the device of using ordinary people—usually chosen from the voting rolls—as members of trial juries has, on the whole, worked rather well, as has the device of referendum.

democracies on the whole have done rather well at managing their affairs and at choosing leaders, and that governments so instituted have been responsive to the will, if any, of the people—or at any rate to that of those who choose to organize and to complain.[20]

In addition, once democracy was tried out, it became clear that voters were inclined, rather surprisingly perhaps, to identify (in Jefferson's terms) "virtue and talents" with "wealth and birth." This could be seen in the earliest competitive elections in the American colonies 100 years before the Declaration of Independence. As Edmund Morgan observes, "The men whom people elected to represent them in their assemblies, especially in the colonies to the south of New England, were generally those whose birth and wealth placed them a little or even a lot above their neighbors. Even in New England, where most seats were filled by comparatively ordinary men, those who stood highest socially and economically seem to have been deferred to by the other representatives and appointed to the committees that directed legislative action" (1988, 147–48).

Democracy opens up the competition for leadership positions to people who would have previously been barred for genetic or ideological reasons. Nevertheless, the system was fairly easy to accept because changes in leadership have not usually been terribly revolutionary: by and large, the same people, or sorts of people, remain in office. They are often virtuous and talented, *and* wealthy and wellborn—like Jefferson himself. Thus, in practice democracy proved not necessarily to be destructive of aristocratic dominance because voters tended to support many of the same patricians who would have been in office if unalloyed monarchy had still been the order of the day.[21] Democracies, like monarchies, have largely been run by the wellborn, although democratic myth-builders, particularly in the United States, have usually chosen to emphasize the occasional political success of upstarts raised in log cabins (see Pessen 1984).[22]

[20]In addition, democracy furnishes a safety valve for discontent. Those with complaints may or may not ever see relief of their grievances, but rather than wallowing in frustration, they are allowed to express themselves and to seek to change things in a direction they prefer. Democracy also rather automatically comes accompanied by certain values that many find congenial for their own sake: a permissiveness and tolerance, for example, or an openness and absence of cant and mendacity. E. M. Forster likes democracy because it "admits variety" and because it "permits criticism." Those are his "two cheers" for democracy (1951, 70). For some the act of voting or of participating in public discussion carries with it a sense of belonging that can be quite satisfying psychologically. And among those who believe in the democratic myth, the voting act can be taken to bestow a certain legitimacy upon the government so chosen (those who believe that only God can choose leaders, on the other hand, will remain unimpressed).

[21]Curiously and almost paradoxically, much the same thing has happened when authoritarian governments have converted to democracy. After the change to democracy in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, many of the same people (now professing their ardent affection for democracy) have remained in charge.

[22]Snobs, too, have been quite safe because social and class distinctions remained substantially unruffled. Thus, Gilbert's witty slander against equality, "If everybody is somebody, then nobody is anybody," has not been borne out.

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Nor have the masses proved volatile or mercurial or capricious—abruptly abandoning one champion to follow another with a more seductive line of banter. Where democracy has been most fully established, in fact, voters have proved constant to the point of tediousness. The shift of a few seats in a Scandinavian parliament is a major event; in U.S. legislatures most incumbents are regularly returned. Some of this can be attributed to a broad tolerance born of apathy—if things are going ahead more or less congenially, why bother to take the time to reassess them? But it does keep things measured, even staid, in most democracies. Caprice, it seems, is more likely to be found in tyrannies, dictatorships, and monarchies.[23]

Democracy and the Competition

Thus, when democracy was put into practice some 200 years ago, it proved, despite the prophesies of wise doomsayers, to work rather well. Although notably less than perfect, it was clearly not as unrealistic and difficult to institute and maintain as it often appeared on paper; it did not necessarily deliver the government into the hands of mobs, incompetents, and demagogues; it can function with real, flawed human beings; it does not characteristically lead to persecution of the rich and other minorities; it does not precipitate a vast social leveling; it can be a rather effective method for choosing and reviewing leaders and for keeping them alert and responsive; and it creates a style of life that is entirely bearable, even admirable at times.

But democracy's promoters needed not only to demonstrate that their product was sound but also that it was superior to the competition. When democracy emerged, it had first to contend with the ancient institution of hereditary monarchy and later with new, often dynamic, forms of authoritarianism.[24] These competitors promised to deliver superior competence in decision making, and sometimes they also promised to supply certain durable values that seemed unachievable with democracy.

Competence in Decision Making

The notion that authoritarian regimes are inherently more competent at making and carrying out decisions is a common one, and, indeed, decision making in democracies is often muddled and incoherent, and the results are sometimes foolish, shortsighted, and irrational. As Alexis de Tocqueville observed in the 1830s, it "can only with great difficulty regulate the details of an important undertaking, persevere in a fixed design, and work out its execution in spite of serious obstacles. It cannot combine its measures with secrecy or await their consequences with patience" (1990, 235).

[23]That was certainly Machiavelli's belief: "As regards prudence and stability, I say that the people are more prudent and stable, and have better judgment than a prince" (1950, 263).

[24]For a further discussion of some of these issues, see Mueller (1990).

However, Tocqueville's implication that monarchies and other authoritarian regimes are superior at getting things done would be difficult to demonstrate. In the nineteenth century, it was probably the British experiment, not the American one, that was most influential in suggesting that democracies could be effective. During that time, democratic Britain became the strongest and most important country in the world. It ruled the seas, developed the world's dominant economy, established a vast and impressive overseas empire, and was the scene of a substantial intellectual renaissance in philosophy, literature, and science. It was led in these endeavors by democratically selected politicians, such as Benjamin Disraeli and William Gladstone, who would be considered exceptional by the standards of most any age. Even more to the point, it was difficult to imagine that Britain could have attained this if all power had resided, as in days of old, in its monarch, the fussy and simple Queen Victoria.[25] Among democracy's post-monarchy competitors, Communism and various forms of military dictatorship often proved to be thunderingly incompetent, while Nazism and Fascism, capable, perhaps, at getting trains to run on time, led their peoples into self-destructive wars.

Higher Values, True Equality, Order, and the Ralph's Grocery Effect

Some of democracy's competitors have also variously promised to deliver certain higher social and ethical values, true social equality, and a more orderly society.

For centuries, as Francis Fukuyama has pointed out, people who aspire to grander goals, who have higher visions, have criticized "the emptiness at the core of liberalism" (1989, 14). There is, it often seems, no *there* there. Liberal democracy, at least in the form suggested by the perspective of Sydney Smith, has little to say about some of the great philosophical issues like what is truth? What is good? What is the meaning of life? And, why are we all here, anyway? In contrast, some of the competitors to democracy have seemed to offer admirable—even sublime—qualities that are not attainable with democracy. Some cater to the desire for security, certainty, and community, and they seductively proclaim the existence of a general will supplied by God, by temporal authority, or by a cosmic populist sense, thus relieving individuals of the task of determining their own self-interest in matters of governance. They often offer to manage individual idiosyncrasies for the greater good and to give security to all by arranging to have the collective or an overseer protect the individual against the traumas of risk and failure. And they authoritatively supply truth through comforting revelation, freeing people from the uncertainties of individual error.[26]

[25]Saudi Arabia is the very model of a modern monarchy. Yet its king is said to be a "master of indecision." The Saudis "could spend days and weeks arguing among themselves. Royal family deliberations could make the American Congress seem fast" (Woodward 1991, 265).

[26]One classic, if extreme, expression of this perspective is the Grand Inquisitor in Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*. As he sees it, people are terrified of the freedom and individualism of democracy, and they are willing, indeed anxious, to surrender it for bread, security, miracle, mystery, authority, and the warmth of communal unity. "All that man seeks on earth," he explains, is "some one to worship, some one to keep his conscience, and some means of uniting all in one unanimous and harmonious ant-heap" (1945, 305–06). It would seem, however, that if the Grand Inquisitor were right, prisons and slavery would be more popular.

In addition, while democracy destroys the automatic political relevance of some political and class differences, in practice it has proven to be incapable of delivering certain kinds of social and economic equality. In fact, as argued earlier, it has in part grown in acceptance precisely because privileged people have generally been able to preserve their advantages under it.

Moreover, democracy can be quite disorderly. It is inherently and distressingly messy and contentious, and people are permitted loudly and irritatingly to voice opinions that are clearly erroneous and even dangerous.

In getting people to reject competitors who promise to do better in these respects, democrats have, it seems to me, essentially persuaded them to accept the Ralph's Grocery philosophy. Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery in Lake Wobegon, a Minnesota town invented by humorist Garrison Keillor, operates under a sensible but unexhilarating slogan: "If you can't get it at Ralph's, you can probably get along without it." (The opposite slogan, hopelessly unrealistic and utopian, advertises Alice's Restaurant—in some other town—where "you can get anything you want.") Democrats of the Smith variety have come to embrace Ralph's point of view in general form: "If you can't get it with democracy," they suggest, "you can probably get along without it."

It may be possible to create a society where comforting truth is supplied from on high, where strict social equality is attained, or where order reigns supreme, but experience suggests that society in the process loses flexibility, responsiveness, and intellectual growth. On the whole, democrats have decided, it is better to get along without the blessings an orderly and sternly equal society can bring.

As an institution, then, democracy is at once effective and defective: it works, but it is incapable of delivering certain goods. Beginning about 200 years ago, people in the developed world have increasingly come to conclude that it is not only easier to attain the pretty good than the really terrific, it is also wiser.

In an essay first published in 1939, E. M. Forster recommended that we raise "two cheers for democracy" in a perspective that the folks at Ralph's Grocery can readily relate to: in a sentiment later echoed by Winston Churchill, Forster observed that democracy "is less hateful than other contemporary forms of government." Or, as it is usually put: democracy is the worst form of government except for all the rest.[27]

Admittedly, this unromantic, even antiromantic, view of democracy does

[27]Forster (1951, 69). Winston Churchill, referring perhaps to Forster, observed in a House of Commons speech in November 1947 that "it has been said that democracy is the worst form of gov-

not lend itself to glowing slogans. Romantic democrats have banners that proclaim "liberté, égalité, fraternité!"[28] and romantic antidemocrats have slogans like "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!" or "Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer!" Democrats of the Smith/Lincoln/Barnum/Forster/Churchill persuasion, by contrast, proclaim only, and in small letters, "You can't fool all of us all the time. . . ." But they can shrug quizzically, point to 200 years of experience, and mutter quietly, "Well, it seems to work." As a form of government, democracy may be messy, but to try to make it perfect would be absurd, potentially dangerous, and oxymoronic.

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ernment except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time" (1950, 200). Twenty years before Forster, William Ralph Inge had put it this way: "Democracy is a form of government which may be rationally defended, not as good, but as being less bad than any other" (1919, 5).

[28] In the view of this article, *liberté* is essential to democracy, while a quest for *égalité* and *fraternité* only complicates matters.

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THE COMING ANARCHY

by ROBERT D. KAPLAN

How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet

THE Minister's eyes were like egg yolks, an aftereffect of some of the many illnesses, malaria especially, endemic in his country. There was also an irrefutable sadness in his eyes. He spoke in a slow and creaking voice, the voice of hope about to expire. Flame trees, coconut palms, and a ballpoint-blue Atlantic composed the background. None of it seemed beautiful, though. "In forty-five years I have never seen things so bad. We did not manage ourselves well after the British departed. But what we have now is something worse—the revenge of the poor, of the social failures, of the people least able to bring up children in a modern society." Then he referred to the recent coup in the West African country Sierra Leone. "The boys who took power in Sierra Leone come from houses like this." The Minister jabbed his finger at a corrugated metal shack teeming with children. "In three months these boys confiscated all the official Mercedes, Volvos, and BMWs and willfully wrecked them on the road." The Minister mentioned one of the coup's leaders, Solomon Anthony Joseph Musa, who shot the people who had paid for his schooling, "in order to erase the humiliation and mitigate the power his middle-class sponsors held over him."

Tyranny is nothing new in Sierra Leone or in the rest of West Africa. But it is now part and parcel of an increasing lawlessness that is far more significant than any coup, rebel incursion, or episodic experiment in democracy. Crime was what my friend—a top-ranking African official whose life would be threatened were I to identify him more precisely—really wanted to talk about. Crime is what makes West Africa a natural point of departure for my report on what the political character of our planet is likely to be in the twenty-first century.

The cities of West Africa at night are some of the unsafest places in the world. Streets are unlit; the police often lack gasoline for their vehicles; armed burglars, carjackers, and muggers proliferate. "The government in Sierra Leone has no writ after dark," says a foreign resident, shrugging. When I was in the capital, Freetown, last September, eight men armed with AK-47s broke into the house of an American man. They tied him up and stole everything of value. Forget Miami: direct flights between the United States and the Murtala Muhammed Airport, in neighboring Nigeria's largest city, Lagos, have been suspended by order of the U.S. Secretary of Transportation because of ineffective security at the terminal and its environs. A State Department report cited the airport for "extortion by law-enforcement and immigration officials." This is one of the few times that the U.S. government has embargoed a foreign airport for reasons that are linked purely to crime. In Abidjan, effectively the capital of the Côte d'Ivoire, or Ivory Coast, restaurants have stick- and gun-wielding guards who walk you the fifteen feet or so between your car and the entrance, giving you an eerie taste of what American cities might be like in the future. An Italian ambassador was killed by gunfire when robbers invaded an Abidjan restaurant. The family of the Nigerian ambassador

Right: outside Monrovia, Liberia, civilian victims of civil war, dumped near the airport. Far right: government troops in Sierra Leone reoccupy a rebel position

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SIERRA LEONE IS A MICROCOSM OF WHAT IS OCCURRING IN WEST AFRICA AND MUCH OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD: THE WITHERING AWAY OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS, THE RISE OF TRIBAL AND REGIONAL DOMAINS, THE UNCHECKED SPREAD OF DISEASE, AND THE GROWING PERVASIVENESS OF WAR.

was tied up and robbed at gunpoint in the ambassador's residence. After university students in the Ivory Coast caught bandits who had been plaguing their dorms, they executed them by hanging tires around their necks and setting the tires on fire. In one instance Ivorian policemen stood by and watched the "necklacings," afraid to intervene. Each time I went to the Abidjan bus terminal, groups of young men with restless, scanning eyes surrounded my taxi, putting their hands all over the windows, demanding "tips" for carrying my luggage even though I had only a rucksack. In cities in six West African countries I saw similar young men everywhere—hordes of them. They were like loose molecules in a very unstable social fluid, a fluid that was clearly on the verge of igniting.

"You see," my friend the Minister told me, "in the villages of Africa it is perfectly natural to feed at any table and lodge in any hut. But in the cities this communal existence no longer holds. You must pay for lodging and be invited for food. When young men find out that their relations cannot put them up, they become lost. They join other migrants and slip gradually into the criminal process."

"In the poor quarters of Arab North Africa," he continued, "there is much less crime, because Islam provides a social and [illegible] education and indoctrination. Here in West Africa we have a lot of superficial Islam and superficial Christianity. Western religion is undermined by animist beliefs not suitable to a moral society, because they are based on irrational spirit power. Here spirits are used to wreak vengeance by one person against another, or one group against another." Many of the atrocities in the Liberian civil war have been tied to belief in *juju* spirits, and the BBC has reported, in its magazine *Focus on Africa*, that in the civil fighting in adjacent Sierra Leone, rebels were said to have "a young woman with them who would go to the front naked, always walking backwards and looking in a mirror to see where she was going. This made her invisible, so that she could cross to the army's positions and there bury charms . . . to improve the rebels' chances of success."

Finally my friend the Minister mentioned polygamy. Designed for a pastoral way of life, polygamy continues to thrive in sub-Saharan Africa even though it is increasingly uncommon in Arab North Africa. Most youths I met on the road in West Africa told me that they were from "extended" families, with a mother in one place and a father in another. Translated to an urban environment, loose family structures are largely responsible for the world's highest birth rates and the explosion of the HIV virus on the continent. Like the communalism and animism, they provide a weak shield against the corrosive social effects of life in cities. In those cities African culture is being redefined while desertification and deforestation—also tied to overpopulation—drive more and more African peasants out of the countryside.

A PREMONITION OF THE FUTURE

WEST Africa is becoming *the* symbol of worldwide demographic, environmental, and societal stress, in which criminal anarchy emerges as the real "strategic" danger. Disease, overpopulation, unprovoked crime, scarcity of resources, refugee migrations, the increasing erosion of nation-states and international borders, and the empowerment of private armies, security firms, and international drug cartels are now most tellingly demonstrated through a West African prism. West Africa provides an appropriate introduction to the issues, often extremely unpleasant to discuss, that will soon confront our civilization. To remap the political earth the way it will be a few decades hence—as I intend to do in this article—I find I must begin with West Africa.

There is no other place on the planet where political maps are so deceptive—where, in fact, they tell such lies—as in West Africa. Start with Sierra Leone. According to the map, it is a nation-state of defined borders, with a government in control of its territory. In truth the Sierra Leonian government, run by a twenty-seven-year-old army captain, Valentine Strasser, controls Freetown by day and by day also controls part of the rural interior. In the government's territory the national army is an unruly rabble threatening drivers and passengers at most checkpoints. In the other part of the country units of two separate armies from the war in Liberia have taken up residence, as has an army of Sierra Leonian rebels. The government force fighting the rebels is full of renegade commanders who have aligned themselves with disaffected village chiefs. A premodern formlessness governs the battlefield, evoking the wars in medieval Europe prior to the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, which ushered in the era of organized nation-states.

As a consequence, roughly 400,000 Sierra Leonians are internally displaced, 280,000 more have fled to neighboring Guinea, and another 100,000 have fled to Liberia, even as

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400,000 Liberians have fled to Sierra Leone. The third largest city in Sierra Leone, Gondama, is a displaced-persons camp. With an additional 600,000 Liberians in Guinea and 250,000 in the Ivory Coast, the borders dividing these four countries have become largely meaningless. Even in quiet zones none of the governments except the Ivory Coast's maintains the schools, bridges, roads, and police forces in a manner necessary for functional sovereignty. The Koranko ethnic group in northeastern Sierra Leone does all its trading in Guinea. Sierra Leonian diamonds are more likely to be sold in Liberia than in Freetown. In the eastern provinces of Sierra Leone you can buy Liberian beer but not the local brand.

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In Sierra Leone, as in Guinea, as in the Ivory Coast, as in Ghana, most of the primary rain forest and the secondary bush is being destroyed at an alarming rate. I saw convoys of trucks bearing majestic hardwood trunks to coastal ports. When Sierra Leone achieved its independence, in 1961, as much as 60 percent of the country was primary rain forest. Now six percent is. In the Ivory Coast the proportion has fallen from 38 percent to eight percent. The deforestation has led to soil erosion, which has led to more flooding and more mosquitoes. Virtually everyone in the West African interior has some form of malaria.

Sierra Leone is a microcosm of what is occurring, albeit in a more tempered and gradual manner, throughout West Africa and much of the underdeveloped world: the withering away of central governments, the rise of tribal and regional domains, the unchecked spread of disease, and the growing pervasiveness of war. West Africa is reverting to the Africa of the Victorian atlas. It consists now of a series of coastal trading posts, such as Freetown and Conakry, and an interior that, owing to violence, volatility, and disease, is again becoming, as Graham Greene once observed, "blank" and "unexplored." However, whereas Greene's vision implies a certain romance, as in the somnolent and charmingly seedy Freetown of his celebrated novel *The Heart of the Matter*, it is Thomas Malthus, the philosopher of demographic doomsday, who is now the prophet of West Africa's future. And West Africa's future, eventually, will also be that of most of the rest of the world.

CONSIDER "Chicago." I refer not to Chicago, Illinois, but to a slum district of Abidjan, which the young toughs in the area have named after the American city. ("Washington" is another poor section of Abidjan.) Although Sierra Leone is widely regarded as beyond salvage, the Ivory Coast has been considered an African success story, and Abidjan has been called "the Paris of West Africa." Success, however, was built on two artificial factors: the high price of cocoa, of which the Ivory Coast is the world's leading producer, and the talents of a French expatriate community, whose members have helped run the government and the private sector. The expanding cocoa economy made the Ivory Coast a magnet for migrant workers from all over West Africa: between a third and a half of the country's population is now non-Ivorian, and the figure could be as high as 75 percent in Abidjan. During the 1980s cocoa prices fell and the French began to leave. The skyscrapers of the Paris of West Africa are a façade. Perhaps 15 percent of Abidjan's population of three million people live in shantytowns like Chicago and Washington, and the vast majority live in places that are not much better. Not all of these places appear on any of the readily available maps. This is another indication of how political maps are the products of tired conventional wisdom and, in the Ivory Coast's case, of an elite that will ultimately be forced to relinquish power.

Chicago, like more and more of Abidjan, is a slum in the bush: a checkerwork of corrugated zinc roofs and walls made of cardboard and black plastic wrap. It is located in a gully teeming with coconut palms and oil palms, and is ravaged by flooding. Few residents have easy access to electricity, a sewage system, or a clean water supply. The crumbly red

The press of population. Right: doing the wash in a lagoon in Abidjan, the Ivory Coast. Left: the nearly impassable downtown of Lagos, Nigeria.

laterite earth crawls with foot-long lizards both inside and outside the shacks. Children defecate in a stream filled with garbage and pigs, droning with malarial mosquitoes. In this stream women do the washing. Young unemployed men spend their time drinking beer, palm wine, and gin while gambling on pinball games constructed out of rotting wood and rusty nails. These are the same youths who rob houses in more prosperous Ivorian neighborhoods at night. One man I met, Damba Tesele, came to Chicago from Burkina Faso in 1963. A cook by profession, he has four wives and thirty-two children, not one of whom has made it to high school. He has seen his shanty community destroyed by municipal authorities seven times since coming to the area. Each time he and his neighbors rebuild. Chicago is the latest incarnation.

Fifty-five percent of the Ivory Coast's population is urban, and the proportion is expected to reach 62 percent by 2000. The yearly net population growth is 3.6 percent. This means that the Ivory Coast's 13.5 million people will become 39 million by 2025, when much of the population will consist of urbanized peasants like those of Chicago. But don't count on the Ivory Coast's still existing then. Chicago, which is more indicative of Africa's and the Third World's demographic present—and even more of the future—than any idyllic junglescape of women balancing earthen jugs on their heads, illustrates why the Ivory Coast, once a model of Third World success, is becoming a case study in Third World catastrophe.

President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who died last December at the age of about ninety, left behind a weak cluster of political parties and a leaden bureaucracy that discourages foreign investment. Because the military is small and the non-Ivorian population large, there is neither an obvious force to maintain order nor a sense of nationhood that would lessen the need for such enforcement. The economy has been shrinking since the mid-1980s. Though the French are working assiduously to preserve stability, the Ivory Coast faces a possibility worse than a coup: an anarchic implosion of criminal violence—an urbanized version of what has already happened in Somalia. Or it may become an African Yugoslavia, but one without mini-states to replace the whole.

Because the demographic reality of West Africa is a countryside draining into dense slums by the coast, ultimately the region's rulers will come to reflect the values of these shanty-towns. There are signs of this already in Sierra Leone—

and in Togo, where the dictator Etienne Eyadema, in power since 1967, was nearly toppled in 1991, not by democrats but by thousands of youths whom the London-based magazine *West Africa* described as "Soweto-like stone-throwing adolescents." Their behavior may herald a regime more brutal than Eyadema's repressive one.

The fragility of these West African "countries" impressed itself on me when I took a series of bush taxis along the Gulf of Guinea, from the Togolese capital of Lomé, across Ghana, to Abidjan. The 400-mile journey required two full days of driving, because of stops at two border crossings and an additional eleven customs stations, at each of which my fellow passengers had their bags searched. I had to change money twice and repeatedly fill in currency-declaration forms. I had to bribe a Togolese immigration official with the equivalent of eighteen dollars before he would agree to put an exit stamp on my passport. Nevertheless, smuggling across these borders is rampant. *The London Observer* has reported that in 1992 the equivalent of $856 million left West Africa for Europe in the form of "hot cash" assumed to be laundered drug money. International cartels have discovered the utility of weak, financially strapped West African regimes.

The more fictitious the actual sovereignty, the more severe border authorities seem to be in trying to prove otherwise. Getting visas for these states can be as hard as crossing their borders. The Washington embassies of Sierra Leone and Guinea—the two poorest nations on earth, according to a 1993 United Nations report on "human development"—asked for letters from my bank (in lieu of prepaid round-trip tickets) and also personal references, in order to prove that I had sufficient means to sustain myself during my visits. I was reminded of my visa and currency hassles while traveling to the communist states of Eastern Europe, particularly East Germany and Czechoslovakia, before those states collapsed.

Ali A. Mazrui, the director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton, predicts that West Africa—indeed, the whole continent—is on the verge of large-scale border upheaval. Mazrui writes,

> In the 21st century France will be withdrawing from West Africa as she gets increasingly involved in the affairs [of Europe]. France's West African sphere of influence will be filled by Nigeria—a more natural hegemonic power. . . . It will be under those circumstances that Nigeria's own boundaries are likely to expand to incorporate the Republic of Niger (the Hausa link), the Republic of Benin (the Yoruba link) and conceivably Cameroon.

THE future could be more tumultuous, and bloodier, than Mazrui dares to say. France will withdraw from former colonies like Benin, Togo, Niger, and the Ivory Coast, where it has been propping up local currencies. It will do so not only because its attention will be diverted to new challenges in Europe and Russia but also because younger French officials lack the older generation's emotional ties to the ex-colonies. However, even as Nigeria attempts to expand, it, too, is likely to split into several pieces. The State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research recently made the following points in an analysis of Nigeria:

> Prospects for a transition to civilian rule and democratization are slim. . . . The repressive apparatus of the state security service . . . will be difficult for any future civilian government to control. . . . The country is becoming increasingly ungovernable. . . . Ethnic and regional splits are deepening, a situation made worse by an increase in the number of states from 19 to 30 and a doubling in the number of local governing authorities; religious cleavages are more serious; Muslim fundamentalism and evangelical Christian militancy are on the rise; and northern Muslim anxiety over southern [Christian] control of the economy is intense . . . the will to keep Nigeria together is now very weak.

Given that oil-rich Nigeria is a bellwether for the region—its population of roughly 90 million equals the populations of all the other West African states combined—it is apparent that Africa faces cataclysms that could make the Ethiopian and Somalian famines pale in comparison. This is especially so because Nigeria's population, including that of its largest city, Lagos, whose crime, pollution, and overcrowding make it the cliché par excellence of Third World urban dysfunction, is set to double during the next twenty-five years, while the country continues to deplete its natural resources.

Part of West Africa's quandary is that although its population belts are horizontal, with habitation densities increasing as one travels south away from the Sahara and toward the tropical abundance of the Atlantic littoral, the borders erected by European colonialists are vertical, and therefore at cross-purposes with demography and topography. Satellite photos depict the same reality I experienced in the bush taxi: the Lomé-Abidjan coastal corridor—indeed, the entire stretch of coast from Abidjan eastward to Lagos—is one burgeoning megalopolis that by any rational economic and geographical standard should constitute a single sovereignty, rather than the five (the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria) into which it is currently divided.

As many internal African borders begin to crumble, a more impenetrable boundary is being erected that threatens to isolate the continent as a whole: the wall of disease. Merely to visit West Africa in some degree of safety, I spent about $500 for a hepatitis B vaccination series and other disease prophylaxis. Africa may today be more dangerous in this regard than it was in 1862, before antibiotics, when the explorer Sir Richard Francis Burton described the health situation on the continent as "deadly, a Golgotha, a Jehannum." Of the approximately 12 million people worldwide whose blood is HIV-positive, 8 million are in Africa. In the capital of the Ivory Coast, whose modern road system only

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helps to spread the disease. 10 percent of the population is HIV-positive. And war and refugee movements help the virus break through to more-remote areas of Africa. Alan Greenberg, M.D., a representative of the Centers for Disease Control in Abidjan, explains that in Africa the HIV virus and tuberculosis are now "fast-forwarding each other." Of the approximately 4,000 newly diagnosed tuberculosis patients in Abidjan, 45 percent were also found to be HIV-positive. As African birth rates soar and slums proliferate, some experts worry that viral mutations and hybridizations might, just conceivably, result in a form of the AIDS virus that is easier to catch than the present strain.

It is malaria that is most responsible for the disease wall that threatens to separate Africa and other parts of the Third World from more-developed regions of the planet in the twenty-first century. Carried by mosquitoes, malaria, unlike AIDS, is easy to catch. Most people in sub-Saharan Africa have recurring bouts of the disease throughout their entire lives, and it is mutating into increasingly deadly forms. "The great gift of Malaria is utter apathy," wrote Sir Richard Burton, accurately portraying the situation in much of the Third World today. Visitors to malaria-afflicted parts of the planet are protected by a new drug, mefloquine, a side effect of which is vivid, even violent, dreams. But a strain of cerebral malaria resistant to mefloquine is now on the offensive. Consequently, defending oneself against malaria in Africa is becoming more and more like defending oneself against violent crime. You engage in "behavior modification": not going out at dusk, wearing mosquito repellent all the time.

IT IS MALARIA THAT IS MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISEASE WALL THAT THREATENS TO SEPARATE AFRICA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE THIRD WORLD FROM MORE-DEVELOPED REGIONS OF THE PLANET IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. IT IS MUTATING INTO INCREASINGLY DEADLY FORMS.

And the cities keep growing. I got a general sense of the future while driving from the airport to downtown Conakry, the capital of Guinea. The forty-five-minute journey in heavy traffic was through one never-ending shantytown: a nightmarish Dickensian spectacle to which Dickens himself would never have given credence. The corrugated metal shacks and scabrous walls were coated with black slime. Stores were built out of rusted shipping containers, junked cars, and jumbles of wire mesh. The streets were one long puddle of floating garbage. Mosquitoes and flies were everywhere. Children, many of whom had protruding bellies, seemed as numerous as ants. When the tide went out, dead rats and the skeletons of cars were exposed on the mucky beach. In twenty-eight years Guinea's population will double if growth goes on at current rates. Hardwood logging continues at a madcap speed, and people flee the Guinean countryside for Conakry. It seemed to me that here, as elsewhere in Africa and the Third World, man is challenging nature far beyond its limits, and nature is now beginning to take its revenge.

AFRICA may be as relevant to the future character of world politics as the Balkans were a hundred years ago, prior to the two Balkan wars and the First World War. Then the threat was the collapse of empires and the birth of nations based solely on tribe. Now the threat is more elemental: *nature unchecked*. Africa's immediate future could be very bad. The coming upheaval, in which foreign embassies are shut down, states collapse, and contact with the outside world takes place through dangerous, disease-ridden coastal trading posts, will loom large in the century we are entering. (Nine of twenty-one U.S. foreign-aid missions to be closed over the next three years are in Africa—a prologue to a consolidation of U.S. embassies themselves.) Precisely because much of Africa is set to go over the edge at a time when the Cold War has ended, when environmental and demographic stress in other parts of the globe is becoming critical, and when the post–First World War system of nation-states—not just in the Balkans but perhaps also in the Middle East—is about to be toppled, Africa suggests what war, borders, and ethnic politics will be like a few decades hence.

To understand the events of the next fifty years, then, one must understand environmental scarcity, cultural and racial clash, geographic destiny, and the transformation of war. The order in which I have named these is not accidental. Each concept except the first relies partly on the one or ones before it, meaning that the last two—new approaches to mapmaking and to warfare—are the most important. They are also the least understood. I will now look at each idea, drawing upon the work of specialists and also my own travel experiences in various parts of the globe besides Africa, in order to fill in the blanks of a new political atlas.

THE ENVIRONMENT AS A HOSTILE POWER

FOR a while the media will continue to ascribe riots and other violent upheavals abroad mainly to ethnic and religious conflict. But as these conflicts multiply, it will become apparent that something else is afoot, making more and more places like Nigeria, India, and Brazil ungovernable.

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Mention "the environment" or "diminishing natural resources" in foreign-policy circles and you meet a brick wall of skepticism or boredom. To conservatives especially, the very terms seem flaky. Public-policy foundations have contributed to the lack of interest, by funding narrowly focused environmental studies replete with technical jargon which foreign-affairs experts just let pile up on their desks.

It is time to understand "the environment" for what it is: *the* national-security issue of the early twenty-first century. The political and strategic impact of surging populations, spreading disease, deforestation and soil erosion, water depletion, air pollution, and, possibly, rising sea levels in critical, overcrowded regions like the Nile Delta and Bangladesh—developments that will prompt mass migrations and, in turn, incite group conflicts—will be the core foreign-policy challenge from which most others will ultimately emanate, arousing the public and uniting assorted interests left over from the Cold War. In the twenty-first century water will be in dangerously short supply in such diverse locales as Saudi Arabia, Central Asia, and the southwestern United States. A war could erupt between Egypt and Ethiopia over Nile River water. Even in Europe tensions have arisen between Hungary and Slovakia over the damming of the Danube, a classic case of how environmental disputes fuse with ethnic and historical ones. The political scientist and erstwhile Clinton adviser Michael Mandelbaum has said, "We have a foreign policy today in the shape of a doughnut—lots of peripheral interests but nothing at the center." The environment, I will argue, is part of a terrifying array of problems that will define a new threat to our security, filling the hole in Mandelbaum's doughnut and allowing a post–Cold War foreign policy to emerge inexorably by need rather than by design.

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OUR Cold War foreign policy truly began with George F. Kennan's famous article, signed "X," published in *Foreign Affairs* in July of 1947, in which Kennan argued for a "firm and vigilant containment" of a Soviet Union that was imperially, rather than ideologically, motivated. It may be that our post–Cold War foreign policy will one day be seen to have had its beginnings in an even bolder and more detailed piece of written analysis: one that appeared in the journal *International Security*. The article, published in the fall of 1991 by Thomas Fraser Homer-Dixon, who is the head of the Peace and Conflict Studies Program at the University of

Toronto, was titled "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict." Homer-Dixon has, more successfully than other analysts, integrated two hitherto separate fields—military-conflict studies and the study of the physical environment.

In Homer-Dixon's view, future wars and civil violence will often arise from scarcities of resources such as water, cropland, forests, and fish. Just as there will be environmentally driven wars and refugee flows, there will be environmentally induced praetorian regimes—or, as he puts it, "hard regimes." Countries with the highest probability of acquiring hard regimes, according to Homer-Dixon, are those that are threatened by a declining resource base yet also have "a history of state [read 'military'] strength." Candidates include Indonesia, Brazil, and, of course, Nigeria. Though each of these nations has exhibited democratizing tendencies of late, Homer-Dixon argues that such tendencies are likely to be superficial "epiphenomena" having nothing to do with long-term processes that include soaring populations and shrinking raw materials. Democracy is problematic; scarcity is more certain.

Indeed, the Saddam Husseins of the future will have more, not fewer, opportunities. In addition to engendering tribal strife, scarcer resources will place a great strain on many peoples who never had much of a democratic or institutional tradition to begin with. Over the next fifty years the earth's population will soar from 5.5 billion to more than nine billion. Though optimists have hopes for new resource technologies and free-market development in the global village, they fail to note that, as the National Academy of Sciences has pointed out, 95 percent of the population increase will be in the poorest regions of the world, where governments now—just look at Africa—show little ability to function, let alone to implement even marginal improvements. Homer-Dixon writes, ominously, "Neo-Malthusians may underestimate human adaptability in *today's* environmental-social system, but as time passes their analysis may become ever more compelling."

While a minority of the human population will be, as Francis Fukuyama would put it, sufficiently sheltered so as to enter a "post-historical" realm, living in cities and suburbs in which the environment has been mastered and ethnic animosities have been quelled by bourgeois prosperity, an increasingly large number of people will be stuck in history, living in shantytowns where attempts to rise above poverty, cultural dysfunction, and ethnic strife will be doomed by a lack of water to drink, soil to till, and space to survive in. In the developing world environmental stress will present people with a choice that is increasingly among totalitarianism (as in Iraq), fascist-tending mini-states (as in Serb-held Bosnia), and road-warrior cultures (as in Somalia). Homer-Dixon concludes that "as environmental degradation proceeds, the size of the potential social disruption will increase."

Left: El Playón, El Salvador, repository of garbage and death-squad victims. Right: Rio de Janeiro (top) and Shanghai, crowded and still growing.

Tad Homer-Dixon is an unlikely Jeremiah. Today a boyish thirty-seven, he grew up amid the sylvan majesty of Vancouver Island, attending private day schools. His speech is calm, perfectly even, and crisply enunciated. There is nothing in his background or manner that would indicate a bent toward pessimism. A Canadian Anglican who spends his summers canoeing on the lakes of northern Ontario, and who talks about the benign mountains, black bears, and Douglas firs of his youth, he is the opposite of the intellectually severe neoconservative, the kind at home with conflict scenarios. Nor is he an environmentalist who opposes development. "My father was a logger who thought about ecologically safe forestry before others," he says. "He logged, planted, logged, and planted. He got out of the business just as the issue was being polarized by environmentalists. They hate changed ecosystems. But human beings, just by carrying seeds around, change the natural world." As an only child whose playground was a virtually untouched wilderness and seacoast, Homer-Dixon has a familiarity with the natural world that permits him to see a reality that most pol-

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icy analysts—children of suburbia and city streets—are blind to.

"We need to bring nature back in," he argues. "We have to stop separating politics from the physical world—the climate, public health, and the environment." Quoting Daniel Deudney, another pioneering expert on the security aspects of the environment, Homer-Dixon says that "for too long we've been prisoners of 'social-social' theory, which assumes there are only social causes for social and political changes, rather than natural causes, too. This social-social mentality emerged with the Industrial Revolution, which separated us from nature. But nature is coming back with a vengeance, tied to population growth. It will have incredible security implications.

"Think of a stretch limo in the potholed streets of New York City, where homeless beggars live. Inside the limo are the air-conditioned post-industrial regions of North America, Europe, the emerging Pacific Rim, and a few other isolated places, with their trade summitry and computer-information highways. Outside is the rest of mankind, going in a completely different direction."

WE are entering a bifurcated world. Part of the globe is inhabited by Hegel's and Fukuyama's Last Man, healthy, well fed, and pampered by technology. The other, larger, part is inhabited by Hobbes's First Man, condemned to a life that is "poor, nasty, brutish, and short." Although both parts will be threatened by environmental stress, the Last Man will be able to master it; the First Man will not.

The Last Man will adjust to the loss of underground water tables in the western United States. He will build dikes to save Cape Hatteras and the Chesapeake beaches from rising sea levels, even as the Maldive Islands, off the coast of India, sink into oblivion, and the shorelines of Egypt, Bangladesh, and Southeast Asia recede, driving tens of millions of people inland where there is no room for them, and thus sharpening ethnic divisions.

Homer-Dixon points to a world map of soil degradation in his Toronto office. "The darker the map color, the worse the degradation," he explains. The West African coast, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, China, and Central America have the darkest shades, signifying all manner of degradation, related to winds, chemicals, and water problems. "The worst degradation is generally where the population is highest. The population is generally highest where the soil is the best. So we're degrading earth's best soil."

China, in Homer-Dixon's view, is the quintessential example of environmental degradation. Its current economic "success" masks deeper problems. "China's fourteen percent growth rate does not mean it's going to be a world power. It means that coastal China, where the economic growth is taking place, is joining the rest of the Pacific Rim. The disparity with inland China is intensifying." Referring to the environmental research of his colleague, the Czech-born ecologist Vaclav Smil, Homer-Dixon explains how the per capita availability of arable land in interior China has rapidly declined at the same time that the quality of that land has been destroyed by deforestation, loss of topsoil, and salinization. He mentions the loss and contamination of water supplies, the exhaustion of wells, the plugging of irrigation systems and reservoirs with eroded silt, and a population of 1.54 billion by the year 2025: it is a misconception that China has gotten its population under control. Large-scale population movements are under way, from inland China to coastal China and from villages to cities, leading to a crime surge like the one in Africa and to growing regional disparities and conflicts in a land with a strong tradition of warlordism and a weak tradition of central government—again as in Africa. "We will probably see the center challenged and fractured, and China will not remain the same on the map," Homer-Dixon says.

Environmental scarcity will inflame existing hatreds and affect power relationships, at which we now look.

SKINHEAD COSSACKS, JUJU WARRIORS

IN the summer, 1993, issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Samuel P. Huntington, of Harvard's Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, published a thought-provoking article called "The Clash of Civilizations?" The world, he argues, has been moving during the course of this century from nation-state conflict to ideological conflict to, finally, cultural conflict. I would add that as refugee flows increase and as peasants continue migrating to cities around the world—turning them into sprawling villages—national borders will mean less, even as more power will fall into the hands of less educated, less sophisticated groups. In the eyes of these uneducated but newly empowered millions, the real borders are the most tangible and intractable ones: those of culture and tribe. Huntington writes, "First, differences among civilizations are not only real; they are basic," involving, among other things, history, language, and religion. "Second . . . interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing; these increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness." Economic modernization is not necessarily a panacea, since it fuels individual and group ambitions while weakening traditional loyalties to the state. It is worth noting, for example, that it is precisely the wealthiest and fastest-developing city in India, Bombay, that has seen the worst intercommunal violence between Hindus and Muslims. Consider that Indian cities, like African and Chinese ones, are ecological time bombs—Delhi and Calcutta, and also Beijing, suffer the worst air quality of any cities in the world—and it is apparent how surging populations, environmental degradation, and ethnic conflict are deeply related.

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Huntington points to interlocking conflicts among Hindu Muslim, Slavic Orthodox, Western, Japanese, Confucian Latin American, and possibly African civilizations: for instance, Hindus clashing with Muslims in India, Turkic Muslims clashing with Slavic Orthodox Russians in Central Asian cities, the West clashing with Asia. (Even in the United States, African-Americans find themselves besieged by an influx of competing Latinos.) Whatever the laws, refugees find a way to crash official borders, bringing their passions with them, meaning that Europe and the United States will be weakened by cultural disputes.

Because Huntington's brush is broad, his specifics are vulnerable to attack. In a rebuttal of Huntington's argument the Johns Hopkins professor Fouad Ajami, a Lebanese-born Shi'ite who certainly knows the world beyond suburbia, writes in the September-October, 1993, issue of *Foreign Affairs*,

> The world of Islam divides and subdivides. The battle lines in the Caucasus . . . are not coextensive with civilizational fault lines. The lines follow the interests of states. Where Huntington sees a civilizational duel between Armenia and Azerbaijan, the Iranian state has cast religious zeal . . . to the wind . . . in that battle the Iranians have tilted toward Christian Armenia.

True, Huntington's hypothesized war between Islam and Orthodox Christianity is not borne out by the alliance network in the Caucasus. But that is only because he has misidentified *which* cultural war is occurring there. A recent visit to Azerbaijan made clear to me that Azeri Turks, the world's most secular Shi'ite Muslims, see their cultural identity in terms not of religion but of their Turkic race. The Armenians, likewise, fight the Azeris not because the latter are Muslims but because they are Turks, related to the same Turks who massacred Armenians in 1915. Turkic culture (secular and based on languages employing a Latin script) is battling Iranian culture (religiously militant as defined by Tehran, and wedded to an Arabic script) across the whole swath of Central Asia and the Caucasus. The Armenians are, therefore, natural allies of their fellow Indo-Europeans the Iranians.

Huntington is correct that the Caucasus is a flashpoint of cultural and racial war. But, as Ajami observes, Huntington's plate tectonics are too simple. Two months of recent travel throughout Turkey revealed to me that although the Turks are developing a deep distrust, bordering on hatred, of fellow-Muslim Iran, they are also, especially in the shantytowns that are coming to dominate Turkish public opinion, revising their group identity, increasingly seeing themselves as Muslims being deserted by a West that does little to help besieged Muslims in Bosnia and that attacks Turkish Muslims in the streets of Germany.

In Bosnia, the former Yugoslavia, compatriots add one more victim of civil war to a mass grave

In other words, the Balkans, a powder keg for nation-state war at the beginning of the twentieth century, could be a powder keg for cultural war at the turn of the twenty-first: between Orthodox Christianity (represented by the Serbs and a classic Byzantine configuration of Greeks, Russians, and Romanians) and the House of Islam. Yet in the Caucasus that House of Islam is falling into a clash between Turkic and Iranian civilizations. Ajami asserts that this very subdivision, not to mention all the divisions within the Arab world, indicates that the West, including the United States, is not threatened by Huntington's scenario. As the Gulf War demonstrated, the West has proved capable of playing one part of the House of Islam against another.

True. However, whether he is aware of it or not, Ajami is describing a world even more dangerous than the one Huntington envisions, especially when one takes into account Homer-Dixon's research on environmental scarcity. Outside the stretch limo would be a rundown, crowded planet of skinhead Cossacks and *juju* warriors, influenced by the worst refuse of Western pop culture and ancient tribal hatreds, and battling over scraps of overused earth in guerrilla

conflicts that ripple across continents and intersect in no discernible pattern—meaning there's no easy-to-define threat. Kennan's world of one adversary seems as distant as the world of Herodotus.

Most people believe that the political earth since 1989 has undergone immense change. But it is minor compared with what is yet to come. The breaking apart and remaking of the atlas is only now beginning. The crack-up of the Soviet empire and the coming end of Arab-Israeli military confrontation are merely prologues to the really big changes that lie ahead. Michael Vlahos, a long-range thinker for the U.S. Navy, warns, "We are not in charge of the environment and the world is not following us. It is going in many directions. Do not assume that democratic capitalism is the last word in human social evolution."

Before addressing the questions of maps and of warfare, I want to take a closer look at the interaction of religion, culture, demographic shifts, and the distribution of natural resources in a specific area of the world: the Middle East.

THE PAST IS DEAD

BUILT on steep, muddy hills, the shantytowns of Ankara, the Turkish capital, exude visual drama. Altindag, or "Golden Mountain," is a pyramid of dreams, fashioned from cinder blocks and corrugated iron, rising as though each shack were built on top of another, all reaching awkwardly and painfully toward heaven—the heaven of wealthier Turks who live elsewhere in the city. Nowhere else on the planet have I found such a poignant architectural symbol of man's striving, with gaps in house walls plugged with rusted cans, and leeks and onions growing on verandas assembled from planks of rotting wood. For reasons that I will explain, the Turkish shacktown is a psychological universe away from the African one.

To see the twenty-first century truly, one's eyes must learn a different set of aesthetics. One must reject the overly stylized images of travel magazines, with their inviting photographs of exotic villages and glamorous downtowns. There are far too many millions whose dreams are more vulgar, more real—whose raw energies and desires will overwhelm the visions of the elites, remaking the future into something frighteningly new. But in Turkey I learned that shantytowns are not all bad.

Slum quarters in Abidjan terrify and repel the outsider. In Turkey it is the opposite. The closer I got to Golden Mountain the better it looked, and the safer I felt. I had $1,500 worth of Turkish lira in one pocket and $1,000 in traveler's checks in the other, yet I felt no fear. Golden Mountain was a real neighborhood. The inside of one house told the story: The architectural bedlam of cinder block and sheet metal and cardboard walls was deceiving. Inside was a *home*—order, that is, bespeaking dignity. I saw a working refrigerator, a television, a wall cabinet with a few books and lots of family pictures, a few plants by a window, and a stove. Though the streets become rivers of mud when it rains, the floors inside this house were spotless.

Other houses were like this too. Schoolchildren ran along with briefcases strapped to their backs, trucks delivered cooking gas, a few men sat inside a café sipping tea. One man sipped beer. Alcohol is easy to obtain in Turkey, a secular state where 99 percent of the population is Muslim. Yet there is little problem of alcoholism. Crime against persons is infinitesimal. Poverty and illiteracy are watered-down versions of what obtains in Algeria and Egypt (to say nothing of West Africa), making it that much harder for religious extremists to gain a foothold.

My point in bringing up a rather wholesome, crime-free slum is this: its existence demonstrates how formidable is the fabric of which Turkish Muslim culture is made. A culture this strong has the potential to dominate the Middle East once again. Slums are litmus tests for innate cultural strengths and weaknesses. Those peoples whose cultures can harbor extensive slum life without decomposing will be, relatively speak-

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SADDAM HUSSEINS OF THE FUTURE WILL HAVE MORE, NOT FEWER, OPPORTUNITIES. IN ADDITION TO ENGENDERING TRIBAL STRIFE, SCARCER RESOURCES WILL PLACE A GREAT STRAIN ON MANY PEOPLES WHO NEVER HAD MUCH OF A DEMOCRATIC OR INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION TO BEGIN WITH.

ing, the future's winners. Those whose cultures cannot will be the future's victims. Slums—in the sociological sense—do not exist in Turkish cities. The mortar between people and family groups is stronger here than in Africa. Resurgent Islam and Turkic cultural identity have produced a civilization with natural muscle tone. Turks, history's perennial nomads, take disruption in stride.

The future of the Middle East is quietly being written inside the heads of Golden Mountain's inhabitants. Think of an Ottoman military encampment on the eve of the destruction of Greek Constantinople in 1453. That is Golden Mountain. "We brought the village here. But in the village we worked harder—in the field, all day. So we couldn't fast during [the holy month of] Ramadan. Here we fast. Here we are more religious." Aishe Tanrikulu, along with half a dozen other women, was stuffing rice into vine leaves from a crude plastic bowl. She asked me to join her under the shade of a piece of sheet metal. Each of these women had her hair covered by a kerchief. In the city they were encountering television for the first time. "We are traditional, religious people. The programs offend us," Aishe said. Another woman complained about the schools. Though her children had educational options unavailable in the village, they had to compete with wealthier, secular Turks. "The kids from rich families with connections—they get all the places." More opportunities, more tensions, in other words.

My guidebook to Golden Mountain was an untypical one: *Tales From the Garbage Hills*, a brutally realistic novel by a Turkish writer, Latife Tekin, about life in the shantytowns, which in Turkey are called *gecekondus* ("built in a night"). "He listened to the earth and wept unceasingly for water, for work and for the cure of the illnesses spread by the garbage and the factory waste," Tekin writes. In the most revealing passage of *Tales From the Garbage Hills* the squatters are told "about a certain 'Ottoman Empire' . . . that where they now lived there had once been an empire of this name." This history "confounded" the squatters. It was the first they had heard of it. Though one of them knew "that his grandfather and his dog died fighting the Greeks," nationalism and an encompassing sense of Turkish history are the province of the Turkish middle and upper classes, and of foreigners like me who feel required to have a notion of "Turkey."

But what did the Golden Mountain squatters know about the armies of Turkish migrants that had come before their own—namely, Seljuks and Ottomans? For these recently urbanized peasants, and their counterparts in Africa, the Arab world, India, and so many other places, the world is new, to adapt V. S. Naipaul's phrase. As Naipaul wrote of urban refugees in *India: A Wounded Civilization*, "They saw themselves at the beginning of things: unaccommodated men making a claim on their land for the first time, and out of chaos evolving their own philosophy of community and self-help. For them the past was dead; they had left it behind in the villages."

Everywhere in the developing world at the turn of the twenty-first century these new men and women, rushing into the cities, are remaking civilizations and redefining their identities in terms of religion and tribal ethnicity which do not coincide with the borders of existing states.

IN Turkey several things are happening at once. In 1980, 44 percent of Turks lived in cities; in 1990 it was 61 percent. By the year 2000 the figure is expected to be 67 percent. Villages are emptying out as concentric rings of *gecekondu* developments grow around Turkish cities. This is the real political and demographic revolution in Turkey and elsewhere, and foreign correspondents usually don't write about it.

Whereas rural poverty is age-old and almost a "normal" part of the social fabric, urban poverty is socially destabilizing. As Iran has shown, Islamic extremism is the psychological defense mechanism of many urbanized peasants threatened with the loss of traditions in pseudo-modern cities where their values are under attack, where basic services like water and electricity are unavailable, and where they are assaulted by a physically unhealthy environment. The American ethnologist and orientalist Carleton Stevens Coon wrote in 1951 that Islam "has made possible the optimum survival and happiness of millions of human beings in an increasingly impoverished environment over a fourteen-hundred-year period." Beyond its stark, clearly articulated message, Islam's very militancy makes it attractive to the downtrodden. It is the one religion that is prepared to *fight*. A political era driven by environmental stress, increased cultural sensitivity, unregulated urbanization, and refugee migrations is an era divinely created for the spread and intensification of Islam, already the world's fastest-growing religion. (Though Islam is spreading in West Africa, it is being hobbled by syncretization with animism: this makes new converts less apt to become anti-Western extremists, but it also makes for a weakened version of the faith, which is less effective as an antidote to crime.)

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In Turkey, however, Islam is painfully and awkwardly forging a consensus with modernization, a trend that is less apparent in the Arab and Persian worlds (and virtually invisible in Africa). In Iran the oil boom—because it put development and urbanization on a fast track, making the culture shock more intense—fueled the 1978 Islamic Revolution. But Turkey, unlike Iran and the Arab world, has little oil. Therefore its development and urbanization have been more gradual. Islamists have been integrated into the parliamentary system for decades. The tensions I noticed in Golden Mountain are natural, creative ones: the kind immigrants face the world over. While the world has focused on religious perversity in Algeria, a nation rich in natural gas, and in Egypt, parts of whose capital city, Cairo, evince worse crowding than I have seen even in Calcutta, Turkey has been living through the Muslim equivalent of the Protestant Reformation.

Resource distribution is strengthening Turks in another way vis-à-vis Arabs and Persians. Turks may have little oil, but their Anatolian heartland has lots of water—the most important fluid of the twenty-first century. Turkey's Southeast Anatolia Project, involving twenty-two major dams and irrigation systems, is impounding the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Much of the water that Arabs and perhaps Israelis will need to drink in the future is controlled by Turks. The project's centerpiece is the mile-wide, sixteen-story Atatürk Dam, upon which are emblazoned the words of modern Turkey's founder: "*Ne Mutlu Turkum Diyene*" ("Lucky is the one who is a Turk").

Unlike Egypt's Aswan High Dam, on the Nile, and Syria's Revolution Dam, on the Euphrates, both of which were built largely by Russians, the Atatürk Dam is a predominantly Turkish affair, with Turkish engineers and companies in charge. On a recent visit my eyes took in the immaculate offices and their gardens, the high-voltage electric grids and phone switching stations, the dizzying sweep of giant humming transformers, the poured-concrete spillways, and the prim unfolding suburbia, complete with schools, for dam employees. The emerging power of the Turks was palpable.

Erduhan Bayindir, the site manager at the dam, told me that "while oil can be shipped abroad to enrich only elites, water has to be spread more evenly within the society. . . . It is true, we can stop the flow of water into Syria and Iraq for up to eight months without the same water overflowing our dams, in order to regulate their political behavior."

Power is certainly moving north in the Middle East, from the oil fields of Dhahran, on the Persian Gulf, to the water plain of Harran, in southern Anatolia—near the site of the Atatürk Dam. But will the nation-state of Turkey, as presently constituted, be the inheritor of this wealth?

I very much doubt it.

THE LIES OF MAPMAKERS

WHEREAS West Africa represents the least stable part of political reality outside Homer-Dixon's stretch limo, Turkey, an organic outgrowth of two Turkish empires that ruled Anatolia for 850 years, has been among the most stable. Turkey's borders were established not by colonial powers but in a war of independence, in the early 1920s. Kemal Atatürk provided Turkey with a secular nation-building myth that most Arab and African states, burdened by artificially drawn borders, lack. That lack will leave many Arab states defenseless against a wave of Islam that will eat away at their legitimacy and frontiers in coming years. Yet even as regards Turkey, maps deceive.

It is not only African shantytowns that don't appear on urban maps. Many shantytowns in Turkey and elsewhere are also missing—as are the considerable territories controlled by guerrilla armies and urban mafias. Traveling with Eritrean guerrillas in what, according to the map, was northern Ethiopia, traveling in "northern Iraq" with Kurdish guerrillas, and staying in a hotel in the Caucasus controlled

Opposite page: Kurds in Turkey defy the government by kindling ritual fires. Above: a Kurdish guerrilla fighter; Kurdish children with spent shells.

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by a local mafia—to say nothing of my experiences in West Africa—led me to develop a healthy skepticism toward maps, which, I began to realize, create a conceptual barrier that prevents us from comprehending the political crack-up just beginning to occur worldwide.

Consider the map of the world, with its 190 or so countries, each signified by a bold and uniform color: this map, with which all of us have grown up, is generally an invention of modernism, specifically of European colonialism. Modernism, in the sense of which I speak, began with the rise of nation-states in Europe and was confirmed by the death of feudalism at the end of the Thirty Years' War—an event that was interposed between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, which together gave birth to modern science. People were suddenly flush with an enthusiasm to categorize, to define. The map, based on scientific techniques of measurement, offered a way to classify new national organisms, making a jigsaw puzzle of neat pieces without transition zones between them. "Frontier" is itself a modern concept that didn't exist in the feudal mind. And as European nations carved out far-flung domains at the same time that print technology was making the reproduction of maps cheaper, cartography came into its own as a way of creating facts by ordering the way we look at the world.

In his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson, of Cornell University, demonstrates that the map enabled colonialists to think about their holdings in terms of a "totalizing classificatory grid. . . . It was bounded, determinate, and therefore—in principle—countable." To the colonialist, country maps were the equivalent of an accountant's ledger books. Maps, Anderson explains, "shaped the grammar" that would make possible such questionable concepts as Iraq, Indonesia, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria. The state, recall, is a purely Western notion, one that until the twentieth century applied to countries covering only three percent of the earth's land area. Nor is the evidence compelling that the state, as a governing ideal, can be successfully transported to areas outside the industrialized world. Even the United States of America, in the words of one of our best living poets, Gary Snyder, consists of "arbitrary and inaccurate impositions on what is really here."

Yet this inflexible, artificial reality staggers on, not only in the United Nations but in various geographic and travel publications (themselves by-products of an age of elite touring

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which colonialism made possible) that still report on and photograph the world according to "country." Newspapers, this magazine, and this writer are not innocent of the tendency.

According to the map, the great hydropower complex emblemized by the Atatürk Dam is situated in Turkey. Forget the map. This southeastern region of Turkey is populated almost completely by Kurds. About half of the world's 20 million Kurds live in "Turkey." The Kurds are predominant in an ellipse of territory that overlaps not only with Turkey but also with Iraq, Iran, Syria, and the former Soviet Union. The Western-enforced Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq, a consequence of the 1991 Gulf War, has already exposed the fictitious nature of that supposed nation-state.

On a recent visit to the Turkish-Iranian border, it occurred to me what a risky idea the nation-state is. Here I was on the legal fault line between two clashing civilizations, Turkic and Iranian. Yet the reality was more subtle: as in West Africa, the border was porous and smuggling abounded, but here the people doing the smuggling, on both sides of the border, were Kurds. In such a moonscape, over which peoples have migrated and settled in patterns that obliterate borders, the end of the Cold War will bring on a cruel process of natural selection among existing states. No longer will these states be so firmly propped up by the West or the Soviet Union. Because the Kurds overlap with nearly everybody in the Middle East, on account of their being cheated out of a state in the post–First World War peace treaties, they are emerging, in effect, as *the* natural selector—the ultimate reality check. They have destabilized Iraq and may continue to disrupt states that do not offer them adequate breathing space, while strengthening states that do.

THE SAVAGERY OF THE FIGHTING POINTS TO A TRUTH THAT WE LACK THE STOMACH TO CONTEMPLATE: A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE ON THIS PLANET, TO WHOM THE COMFORT AND STABILITY OF A MIDDLE-CLASS LIFE IS UTTERLY UNKNOWN, FIND WAR AND A BARRACKS EXISTENCE A STEP UP.

Because the Turks, owing to their water resources, their growing economy, and the social cohesion evinced by the most crime-free slums I have encountered, are on the verge of big-power status, and because the 10 million Kurds within Turkey threaten that status, the outcome of the Turkish-Kurdish dispute will be more critical to the future of the Middle East than the eventual outcome of the recent Israeli-Palestinian agreement.

AMERICA'S fascination with the Israeli-Palestinian issue, coupled with its lack of interest in the Turkish-Kurdish one, is a function of its own domestic and ethnic obsessions, not of the cartographic reality that is about to transform the Middle East. The diplomatic process involving Israelis and Palestinians will, I believe, have little effect on the early- and mid-twenty-first-century map of the region. Israel, with a 6.6 percent economic growth rate based increasingly on high-tech exports, is about to enter Homer-Dixon's stretch limo, fortified by a well-defined political community that is an organic outgrowth of history and ethnicity. Like prosperous and peaceful Japan on the one hand, and war-torn and poverty-wracked Armenia on the other, Israel is a classic national-ethnic organism. Much of the Arab world, however, will undergo alteration, as Islam spreads across artificial frontiers, fueled by mass migrations into the cities and a soaring birth rate of more than 3.2 percent. Seventy percent of the Arab population has been born since 1970—youths with little historical memory of anticolonial independence struggles, post-colonial attempts at nation-building, or any of the Arab-Israeli wars. The most distant recollection of these youths will be the West's humiliation of colonially invented Iraq in 1991. Today seventeen out of twenty-two Arab states have a declining gross national product; in the next twenty years, at current growth rates, the population of many Arab countries will double. These states, like most African ones, will be ungovernable through conventional secular ideologies. The Middle East analyst Christine M. Helms explains,

> Declaring Arab nationalism "bankrupt," the political "disinherited" are not rationalizing the failure of Arabism . . . or reformulating it. Alternative solutions are not contemplated. They have simply opted for the political paradigm at the other end of the political spectrum with which they are familiar—Islam.

Like the borders of West Africa, the colonial borders of Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Algeria, and other Arab states are often contrary to cultural and political reality. As state control mechanisms wither in the face of environmental and demographic stress, "hard" Islamic city-states or shantytown-states are likely to emerge. The fiction that the impoverished city of Algiers, on the Mediterranean, controls Tamanrasset, deep in the Algerian Sahara, cannot obtain forever. Whatever the outcome of the peace process, Israel is destined to be a Jewish ethnic fortress amid a vast and volatile realm of Islam. In that realm, the violent youth culture of the Gaza shantytowns may be indicative of the coming era.

The destiny of Turks and Kurds is far less certain, but far more relevant to the kind of map that will explain our future world. The Kurds suggest a geographic reality that cannot be shown in two-dimensional space. The issue in Turkey is not simply a matter of giving autonomy or even independence to

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Kurds in the southeast. This isn't the Balkans or the Caucasus, where regions are merely subdividing into smaller units, Abkhazia breaking off from Georgia, and so on. Federalism is not the answer. Kurds are found everywhere in Turkey, including the shanty districts of Istanbul and Ankara. Turkey's problem is that its Anatolian land mass is the home of two cultures and languages, Turkish and Kurdish. Identity in Turkey, as in India, Africa, and elsewhere, is more complex and subtle than conventional cartography can display.

A NEW KIND OF WAR

To appreciate fully the political and cartographic implications of postmodernism—an epoch of themeless juxtapositions, in which the classificatory grid of nation-states is going to be replaced by a jagged-glass pattern of city-states, shanty-states, nebulous and anarchic regionalisms—it is necessary to consider, finally, the whole question of war.

"Oh, what a relief to fight, to fight enemies who defend themselves, enemies who are awake!" André Malraux wrote in *Man's Fate*. I cannot think of a more suitable battle cry for many combatants in the early decades of the twenty-first century. The intense savagery of the fighting in such diverse cultural settings as Liberia, Bosnia, the Caucasus, and Sri Lanka—to say nothing of what obtains in American inner cities—indicates something very troubling that those of us inside the stretch limo, concerned with issues like middle-class entitlements and the future of interactive cable television, lack the stomach to contemplate. It is this: a large number of people on this planet, to whom the comfort and stability of a middle-class life is utterly unknown, find war and a barracks existence a step up rather than a step down.

"Just as it makes no sense to ask 'why people eat' or 'what they sleep for,'" writes Martin van Creveld, a military historian at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, in *The Transformation of War*, "so fighting in many ways is not a means but an end. Throughout history, for every person who has expressed his horror of war there is another who found in it the most marvelous of all the experiences that are vouchsafed to man, even to the point that he later spent a lifetime boring his descendants by recounting his exploits." When I asked Pentagon officials about the nature of war in the twenty-first century, the answer I frequently got was "Read Van Creveld." The top brass are enamored of this historian not because his writings justify their existence but, rather, the opposite: Van Creveld warns them that huge state military machines like the Pentagon's are dinosaurs about to go extinct, and that something far more terrible awaits us.

The degree to which Van Creveld's *Transformation of War* complements Homer-Dixon's work on the environment, Huntington's thoughts on cultural clash, my own realizations in traveling by foot, bus, and bush taxi in more than sixty countries, and America's sobering comeuppances in intractable-culture zones like Haiti and Somalia is startling. The book begins by demolishing the notion that men don't like to fight. "By compelling the senses to focus themselves on the here and now," Van Creveld writes, war "can cause a man to take his leave of them." As anybody who has had experience with Chetniks in Serbia, "technicals" in Somalia, Tontons Macoutes in Haiti, or soldiers in Sierra Leone can tell you, in places where the Western Enlightenment has not penetrated and where there has always been mass poverty, people find liberation in violence. In Afghanistan and elsewhere, I vicariously experienced this phenomenon: worrying about mines and ambushes frees you from worrying about mundane details of daily existence. If my own experience is too subjective, there is a wealth of data showing the sheer frequency of war, especially in the developing world since the Second World War. Physical aggression is a part

In Liberia, summary justi[ce] meted out against a soldier (above) and suspected thieves (below right). Abo[ve] right: a scene in Vukovar, the former Yugoslavia.

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of being human. Only when people attain a certain economic, educational, and cultural standard is this trait tranquilized. In light of the fact that 95 percent of the earth's population growth will be in the poorest areas of the globe, the question is not whether there will be war (there will be a lot of it) but what kind of war. And who will fight whom?

Debunking the great military strategist Carl von Clausewitz, Van Creveld, who may be the most original thinker on war since that early-nineteenth-century Prussian, writes, "Clausewitz's ideas . . . were wholly rooted in the fact that, ever since 1648, war had been waged overwhelmingly by states." But, as Van Creveld explains, the period of nation-states and, therefore, of state conflict is now ending, and with it the clear "threefold division into government, army, and people" which state-directed wars enforce. Thus, to see the future, the first step is to look back to the past immediately prior to the birth of modernism—the wars in medieval Europe which began during the Reformation and reached their culmination in the Thirty Years' War.

Van Creveld writes,

> In all these struggles political, social, economic, and religious motives were hopelessly entangled. Since this was an age when armies consisted of mercenaries, all were also attended by swarms of military entrepreneurs. . . . Many of them paid little but lip service to the organizations for whom they had contracted to fight. Instead, they robbed the countryside on their own behalf. . . .
>
> Given such conditions, any fine distinctions . . . between armies on the one hand and peoples on the other were bound to break down. Engulfed by war, civilians suffered terrible atrocities.

BACK then, in other words, there was no "politics" as we have come to understand the term, just as there is less and less "politics" today in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, the Balkans, and the Caucasus, among other places.

Because, as Van Creveld notes, the radius of trust within tribal societies is narrowed to one's immediate family and guerrilla comrades, truces arranged with one Bosnian commander, say, may be broken immediately by another Bosnian commander. The plethora of short-lived ceasefires in the Balkans and the Caucasus constitute proof that we are no longer in a world where the old rules of state warfare apply. More evidence is provided by the destruction of medieval monuments in the Croatian port of Dubrovnik: when cultures, rather than states, fight, then cultural and religious monuments are weapons of war, making them fair game.

Also, war-making entities will no longer be restricted to a specific territory. Loose and shadowy organisms such as Islamic terrorist organizations suggest why borders will mean increasingly little and sedimentary layers of tribalistic identity and control will mean more. "From the vantage point of the present, there appears every prospect that religious . . . fanaticisms will play a larger role in the motivation of armed conflict" in the West than at any time "for the last 300 years," Van Creveld writes. This is why analysts like Michael Vlahos are closely monitoring religious cults. Vlahos says, "An ideology that challenges us may not take familiar form, like the old Nazis or Commies. It may not even engage us initially in ways that fit old threat markings." Van Creveld concludes, "Armed conflict will be waged by men on earth, not robots in space. It will have more in common with the struggles of primitive tribes than with large-scale conventional war." While another military historian, John Keegan, in his new book *A History of Warfare*, draws a more benign portrait of primitive man, it is important to point out that what Van Creveld really means is *re-primitivized* man: warrior societies operating at a time of unprecedented resource scarcity and planetary overcrowding.

Van Creveld's pre-Westphalian vision of worldwide low-intensity conflict is not a superficial "back to the future" scenario. First of all, technology will be used toward primitive ends. In Liberia the guerrilla leader Prince Johnson didn't

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just cut off the ears of President Samuel Doe before Doe was tortured to death in 1990—Johnson made a video of it, which has circulated throughout West Africa. In December of 1992, when plotters of a failed coup against the Strasser regime in Sierra Leone had their ears cut off at Freetown's Hamilton Beach prior to being killed, it was seen by many to be a copycat execution. Considering, as I've explained earlier, that the Strasser regime is not really a government and that Sierra Leone is not really a nation-state, listen closely to Van Creveld: "Once the legal monopoly of armed force, long claimed by the state, is wrested out of its hands, existing distinctions between war and crime will break down much as is already the case today in . . . Lebanon, Sri Lanka, El Salvador, Peru, or Colombia."

If crime and war become indistinguishable, then "national defense" may in the future be viewed as a local concept. As crime continues to grow in our cities and the ability of state governments and criminal-justice systems to protect their citizens diminishes, urban crime may, according to Van Creveld, "develop into low-intensity conflict by coalescing along racial, religious, social, and political lines." As small-scale violence multiplies at home and abroad, state armies will continue to shrink, being gradually replaced by a booming private security business, as in West Africa, and by urban mafias, especially in the former communist world, who may be better equipped than municipal police forces to grant physical protection to local inhabitants.

Future wars will be those of communal survival, aggravated or, in many cases, caused by environmental scarcity. These wars will be subnational, meaning that it will be hard for states and local governments to protect their own citizens physically. This is how many states will ultimately die. As state power fades—and with it the state's ability to help weaker groups within society, not to mention other states—peoples and cultures around the world will be thrown back upon their own strengths and weaknesses, with fewer equalizing mechanisms to protect them. Whereas the distant future will probably see the emergence of a racially hybrid, globalized man, the coming decades will see us more aware of our differences than of our similarities. To the average person, political values will mean less, personal security more. The belief that we are all equal is liable to be replaced by the overriding obsession of the ancient Greek travelers: Why the differences between peoples?

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In *Geography and the Human Spirit*, Anne Buttimer, a professor at University College, Dublin, recalls the work of an early-nineteenth-century German geographer, Carl Ritter, whose work implied "a divine plan for humanity" based on regionalism and a constant, living flow of forms. The map of the future, to the extent that a map is even possible, will represent a perverse twisting of Ritter's vision. Imagine cartography in three dimensions, as if in a hologram. In this hologram would be the overlapping sediments of group and other identities atop the merely two-dimensional color markings of city-states and the remaining nations, themselves confused in places by shadowy tentacles, hovering overhead, indicating the power of drug cartels, mafias, and private security agencies. Instead of borders, there would be moving "centers" of power, as in the Middle Ages. Many of these layers would be in motion. Replacing fixed and abrupt lines on a flat space would be a shifting pattern of buffer entities, like the Kurdish and Azeri buffer entities between Turkey and Iran, the Turkic Uighur buffer entity between Central Asia and Inner China (itself distinct from coastal China), and the Latino buffer entity replacing a precise U.S.-Mexican border. To this protean cartographic hologram one must add other factors, such as migrations of populations, explosions of birth rates, vectors of disease. Henceforward the map of the world will never be static. This future map—in a sense, the "Last Map"—will be an ever-mutating representation of chaos.

The Indian subcontinent offers examples of what is happening. For different reasons, both India and Pakistan are increasingly dysfunctional. The argument over democracy in these places is less and less relevant to the larger issue of governability. In India's case the question arises, Is one unwieldy bureaucracy in New Delhi the best available mechanism for promoting the lives of 866 million people of diverse languages, religions, and ethnic groups? In 1950, when the Indian population was much less than half as large and nation-building idealism was still strong, the argument for democracy was more impressive than it is now. Given that in 2025 India's population could be close to 1.5 billion, that much of its economy rests on a shrinking natural-resource base, including dramatically declining water levels, and that communal violence and urbanization are spiraling upward, it is difficult to imagine that the Indian state will survive the next century. India's oft-trumpeted Green Revolution has been achieved by overworking its croplands and depleting its watershed. Norman Myers, a British development consultant, worries that Indians have "been feeding themselves today by borrowing against their children's food sources."

Pakistan's problem is more basic still: like much of Africa, the country makes no geographic or demographic sense. It was founded as a homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent, yet there are more subcontinental Muslims outside Pakistan than within it. Like Yugoslavia, Pakistan is a patchwork of ethnic groups, increasingly in violent conflict with one another. While the Western media gushes over the fact that the country has a woman Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, Karachi is becoming a subcontinental version of Lagos. In eight visits to Pakistan, I have never gotten a sense of a cohesive national identity. With as much as 65 percent of its land dependent on intensive irrigation, with wide-scale deforestation, and with a yearly population growth of 2.7 percent (which ensures that the amount of cultivated land per rural inhabitant will plummet), Pakistan is becoming a more and more desperate place. As irrigation in the Indus River basin intensifies to serve two growing populations, Muslim-Hindu strife over falling water tables may be unavoidable.

Arson and looting in Los Angeles after the acquittal of police officers in the Rodney King case

"India and Pakistan will probably fall apart," Homer-Dixon predicts. "Their secular governments have less and less legitimacy as well as less management ability over people and resources." Rather than one bold line dividing the subcontinent into two parts, the future will likely see a lot of thinner lines and smaller parts, with the ethnic entities of Pakhtunistan and Punjab gradually replacing Pakistan in the space between the Central Asian plateau and the heart of the subcontinent.

None of this even takes into account climatic change, which, if it occurs in the next century, will further erode the capacity of existing states to cope. India, for instance, receives 70 percent of its precipitation from the monsoon cycle, which planetary warming could disrupt.

Not only will the three-dimensional aspects of the Last Map be in constant motion, but its two-dimensional base may change too. The National Academy of Sciences reports that

> as many as one billion people, or 20 per cent of the world's population, live on lands likely to be inundated or dramatically changed by rising waters. . . . Low-lying countries in the developing world such as Egypt and Bangladesh, where rivers are large and the deltas extensive and densely populated, will be hardest hit. . . . Where the rivers are dammed, as in the case of the Nile, the effects . . . will be especially severe.

Egypt could be where climatic upheaval—to say nothing of the more immediate threat of increasing population—will incite religious upheaval in truly biblical fashion. Natural catastrophes, such as the October, 1992, Cairo earthquake, in which the government failed to deliver relief aid and slum residents were in many instances helped by their local mosques, can only strengthen the position of Islamic factions. In a statement about greenhouse warming which could refer to any of a variety of natural catastrophes, the environmental expert Jessica Tuchman Matthews warns that many of us underestimate the extent to which political systems, in affluent societies as well as in places like Egypt, "depend on the underpinning of natural systems." She adds, "The fact that one can move with ease from Vermont to Miami has nothing to say about the consequences of Vermont acquiring Miami's climate."

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Indeed, it is not clear that the United States will survive the next century in exactly its present form. Because America is a multi-ethnic society, the nation-state has always been more fragile here than it is in more homogeneous societies like Germany and Japan. James Kurth, in an article published in *The National Interest* in 1992, explains that whereas nation-state societies tend to be built around a mass-conscription army and a standardized public school system, "multicultural regimes" feature a high-tech, all-volunteer army (and, I would add, private schools that teach competing values), operating in a culture in which the international media and entertainment industry has more influence than the "national political class." In other words, a nation-state is a place where everyone has been educated along similar lines, where people take their cue from national leaders, and where everyone (every male, at least) has gone through the crucible of military service, making patriotism a simpler issue. Writing about his immigrant family in turn-of-the-century Chicago, Saul Bellow states, "The country took us over. It *was* a country then, not a collection of 'cultures.'"

During the Second World War and the decade following it, the United States reached its apogee as a classic nation-state. During the 1960s, as is now clear, America began a slow but unmistakable process of transformation. The signs hardly need belaboring: racial polarity, educational dysfunction, social fragmentation of many and various kinds. William Irwin Thompson, in *Passages About Earth: An Exploration of the New Planetary Culture*, writes, "The educational system that had worked on the Jews or the Irish could no longer work on the blacks; and when Jewish teachers in New York tried to take black children away from their parents exactly in the way they had been taken from theirs, they were shocked to encounter a violent affirmation of negritude."

Issues like West Africa could yet emerge as a new kind of foreign-policy issue, further eroding America's domestic peace. The spectacle of several West African nations collapsing at once could reinforce the worst racial stereotypes here at home. That is another reason why Africa matters. We must not kid ourselves: the sensitivity factor is higher than ever. The Washington, D.C., public school system is already experimenting with an Afrocentric curriculum. Summits between African leaders and prominent African-Americans are becoming frequent, as are Pollyanna-ish prognostications about multiparty elections in Africa that do not factor in crime, surging birth rates, and resource depletion. The Congressional Black Caucus was among those urging U.S. involvement in Somalia and in Haiti. At the *Los Angeles Times* minority staffers have protested against, among other things, what they allege to be the racist tone of the newspaper's Africa coverage, allegations that the editor of the "World Report" section, Dan Fisher, denies, saying essentially that Africa should be viewed through the same rigorous analytical lens as other parts of the world.

Africa may be marginal in terms of conventional late-twentieth-century conceptions of strategy, but in an age of cultural and racial clash, when national defense is increasingly local, Africa's distress will exert a destabilizing influence on the United States.

This and many other factors will make the United States less of a nation than it is today, even as it gains territory following the peaceful dissolution of Canada. Quebec, based on the bedrock of Roman Catholicism and Francophone ethnicity, could yet turn out to be North America's most cohesive and crime-free nation-state. (It may be a smaller Quebec, though, since aboriginal peoples may lop off northern parts of the province.) "Patriotism" will become increasingly regional as people in Alberta and Montana discover that they have far more in common with each other than they do with Ottawa or Washington, and Spanish-speakers in the Southwest discover a greater commonality with Mexico City. (*The Nine Nations of North America*, by Joel Garreau, a book about the continent's regionalization, is more relevant now than when it was published, in 1981.) As Washington's influence wanes, and with it the traditional symbols of American patriotism, North Americans will take psychological refuge in their insulated communities and cultures.

RETURNING from West Africa last fall was an illuminating ordeal. After leaving Abidjan, my Air Afrique flight landed in Dakar, Senegal, where all passengers had to disembark in order to go through another security check, this one demanded by U.S. authorities before they would permit the flight to set out for New York. Once we were in New York, despite the midnight hour, immigration officials at Kennedy Airport held up disembarkation by conducting quick interrogations of the aircraft's passengers—this was in addition to all the normal immigration and customs procedures. It was apparent that drug smuggling, disease, and other factors had contributed to the toughest security procedures I have ever encountered when returning from overseas.

Then, for the first time in over a month, I spotted businesspeople with attaché cases and laptop computers. When I had left New York for Abidjan, all the businesspeople were boarding planes for Seoul and Tokyo, which departed from gates near Air Afrique's. The only non-Africans off to West Africa had been relief workers in T-shirts and khakis. Although the borders within West Africa are increasingly unreal, those separating West Africa from the outside world are in various ways becoming more impenetrable.

But Afrocentrists are right in one respect: we ignore this dying region at our own risk. When the Berlin Wall was falling, in November of 1989, I happened to be in Kosovo, covering a riot between Serbs and Albanians. The future was in Kosovo, I told myself that night, not in Berlin. The same day that Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat clasped hands on the White House lawn, my Air Afrique plane was approaching Bamako, Mali, revealing corrugated-zinc shacks at the edge of an expanding desert. The real news wasn't at the White House, I realized. It was right below.

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